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Zhukov Views 'Open Skies' Proposals

PM0211101589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Yuriy Zhukov: "'Open Skies'; New Confidence-Building Factors"]

[Text] **In their letters PRAVDA readers interested in international affairs ask us to describe in more detail the "open skies" concept mentioned in the joint statement by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker published 24 September at the end of the Wyoming talks.**

If we are touching on the purely technical aspect of the matter, it is a case of organizing reciprocal flights by unarmed aircraft with a view to verifying the military activity on the territory of the countries which agree to open their airspace to each other. On the political plane this concept is viewed as an important means of building confidence between states and overcoming the syndrome of suspicion and fear and as a demonstration of growing openness.

As is well known, both sides expressed in their statement the readiness to take part in an international conference in Canada which should be devoted to how to implement this concept in practice.

So far this initiative has been formulated only in the most general form. Nonetheless it has generated considerable interest everywhere. After all, if the conference elaborates an "open skies" agreement that means that new, truly unprecedented factors for ensuring international security will begin to operate.

Indeed, for many decades the states guarded their airspace extremely zealously against the penetration of alien reconnaissance aircraft or other aircraft capable of monitoring military activity from the air. Now the question is being raised on a practical plane of "opening the skies" to air inspection.

How and why was this change achieved in the thinking of diplomats and military leaders? It was prepared during a prolonged and complex disarmament process which constantly came up against the stone wall of the problem of verification, which sometimes seemed insoluble. It must be admitted that during the many years of discussions the Soviet side adopted a negative stance and our Western partners made skillful use of this for propaganda purposes. They constantly asserted that the USSR was a "closed" society and "closed itself" because it was preparing to attack the West.

I well remember how back at the first session of the UN General Assembly in 1946, when the USSR proposed banning nuclear weapons, a member of the U.S. delegation, Republican Senator Vandenberg, addressing the Soviet delegate, Manuilskiy, at a session of the Political Committee, said: "You cannot be trusted because you slam the doors of your house in our face when we come to visit you." To the noise of such speeches, which created the image of an "evil and covert enemy," a chain of military bases was created surrounding the USSR, a powerful air fleet of atomic bombers was created, and the formation of NATO was prepared. We responded with actions of our own. As a result international tension intensified increasingly and the arms race accelerated and the threat of war increased.

Only in 1955 did a certain bright interval arrive. A meeting of leaders of four powers—the USSR, the United States, Britain, and France—took place in Geneva 18-23 July. All the delegations did everything to emphasize their desire to restore the friendly relations which existed during the war when we were allies.

"The U.S. people would like to be the Soviet people's friend," said U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, opening the meeting. "There are no disputes between the U.S. and Soviet peoples, there are no conflicts, no commercial hostility. Historically our peoples have always lived in peace." "We fully agree with all this," N.A. Bulganin, the head of the Soviet delegation, replied. British Prime Minister A. Eden and French Prime Minister E. Faure also expressed themselves in a conciliatory spirit.

But when matters reached the point of examining specific international problems awaiting solution, the participants in the meeting were unable to reach agreement—mutual suspicions generated by years of the "cold war" were too strong.

On 21 July U.S. President D. Eisenhower unexpectedly came out with an initiative which, as I understand now, was greatly ahead of its time: He suggested an "open skies" plan.

"We will grant you opportunities, great opportunities, in our country for air reconnaissance," he said to Bulganin, Khrushchev, Molotov, Marshal Zhukov, and Gromyko, who made up the Soviet delegation. "You will be able to take any photographs you choose and take them back to your country to study. You will grant us exactly the same opportunities and we will also engage in these observations. We will thus convince the world that we are taking steps against the possibility of a broad sudden attack, thus reducing danger and easing tension. At the same time we will make it easier to achieve an exhaustive and effective system of inspection and disarmament so I can assure you that what I am proposing would be only a beginning..."

This proposal failed to meet with understanding and support from the members of the Soviet delegation, with the Americans' dispatch from the FRG into our airspace of hundreds of air balloons with automatic cameras still fresh in their memory. Those air balloons flew across the entire USSR and the Americans captured them over the Pacific Ocean. It was a large-scale reconnaissance operation which, to a considerable extent, was thwarted: Our air defense services shot down the air balloons. I well remember how, returning from a session, a flushed

Marshal Zhukov told us PRAVDA correspondents covering the meeting: "Who do they take us for? They want us to give them the opportunity to conduct espionage unimpeded!"

Of course, the "open skies" proposal was submitted by the U.S. side at the time with ulterior motives. This, incidentally, was confirmed many years later, 16 May this year, by WASHINGTON POST observer J. Smith. He wrote:

"Eisenhower put forward his proposal because he knew that flights of the U-2 spy aircraft would soon begin over Soviet territory and, if the Soviets agreed with his proposal in advance, that would make it possible to effect such flights in greater security. But the proposal was not accepted and when in 1960 a U-2 was shot down over Soviet territory the United States had to repeal the flights and create a system of powerful transmitters around Soviet territory and also of satellites capable of following the Soviets' military activity while in complete safety in space..."

But for all this, the "open skies" idea contained a healthy seed which, of course, was able to sprout only many years later, under the condition of the restructuring of international relations, on the basis of mutual trust.

After the Geneva summit the "open skies" idea disappeared from the political horizon for a long time. But the problems of mutual verification and inspection, inextricably linked with questions of disarmament and the establishment of the necessary atmosphere of trust between states have retained their acuteness. They made themselves felt at the strategic arms limitation talks, at the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which continued for many years without results, in the work of the disarmament conference, and, finally, at the conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

The further we went, the more clear it became that unless we succeeded in reaching agreement in a particular form on verification from the air, on land, or from space, we would not succeed in achieving any important successes in disarmament. We find the first mention of the possibility and expediency of on-site inspection in the Final Act of the All-European conference, which discusses "confidence measures." But as yet only on very limited scales.

A fundamental change occurred in the second half of the eighties, when the idea of the strictest verification of the implementation of any disarmament measures, including on-site inspections, became common to Washington and Moscow. This had enormous importance for the successful completion of the Stockholm conference of 35 states on confidence-building and security measures and disarmament. The talks on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, on nuclear tests, and on banning and destroying chemical weapons advanced from a standstill. Talks on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe began and made successful headway.

On 19 October representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries submitted new proposals which are a truly all-embracing plan for verifying the reduction of these forces. As THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote 20 October, "the head of the U.S. delegation, S. Ledogar [name as transliterated], called these proposals 'an extremely impressive development' which is close to the NATO approach and in some aspects 'goes even further.'"

An important initiative of the USSR operating in the same direction acquired great significance: I have in mind the letter published last year from the USSR foreign minister to the UN secretary general on the question of ensuring trust and developing openness and glasnost in the military field. This letter boldly raised the question of the transition from individual measures of trust, openness, and glasnost to a broad-scale policy in this field which would be a component of international security, an important factor in increasing the predictability of states' actions, and an element in progress in disarmament.

In this context U.S. President G. Bush's 12 May speech at Texas University, when he suggested returning to the "open skies" plan put forward 34 years ago by President D. Eisenhower, was no surprise. "Reconnaissance flights in addition to satellites," he said, "make it possible to carry out regular observations on both sides. This unprecedented access to territory will show the world the importance of the concept of openness."

This idea was immediately supported by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Soon it was acknowledged as important by a NATO Council session at head of state and government level held in Brussels.

After the Soviet-U.S. meetings in Washington and Jackson, where an accord was reached in principle on the USSR's participation in such a conference, preparation for it was put on a practical footing. Of course, diplomats will have to do a very large amount of work and consider a very broad range of problems.

I shall cite just the following question as an example. It is a good thing that the largest powers of the two opposing military blocs—the USSR and the United States and Canada—are prepared now to agree on the implementation of the "open skies" concept. But who else will agree to "open up" their airspace? So far the West is citing two options: Either three states—the United States, Canada, and the USSR—will take part in an accord on this question or they will be joined by the NATO and Warsaw Pact members **who wish to do so.**

But excuse me, if talk turns on, for instance, "open skies" over North America, the European states, and the Asian part of the USSR, how will it be possible to leave the skies "closed" over neighboring territories, where very large bases belonging to the United States and its allies and targeted against the USSR are situated? For instance, above Japan, in particular Okinawa, or above Guam, the Philippines, Diego Garcia, and many others? I do not even mention Western Europe, where powerful U.S. armed forces are concentrated—the obscure thesis that only those European states **"who wish to do so"** need take part in an accord is totally unacceptable here.

Yet in general in my view the "open skies" concept can and must be implemented, although that is complex on a **global** scale. I recall in this connection that at a press conference in Jackson at the end of his talks with J. Baker and then in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session 23 October E.A. Shevardnadze put the question like this:

"...We supported President Bush's idea for establishing an open skies regime and we will take part in an international conference in Canada where this proposal will be discussed. But if we 'open' our skies then why not open dry land, the seas and oceans, and space to glasnost? We expressed ourselves in favor of global confidence measures encompassing all natural spheres."

Chemical Weapons Stocks in Europe Denied

PM0211141989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Matveyev "Rejoinder": "Old Falsification to New Tune"]

[Text] Despite the tangible progress in the field of banning chemical weapons, the Western mass media regularly toss their readers various insinuations about the "Soviet chemical threat" and about the enormous alleged stocks of Soviet chemical weapons. Thus, the West German newspaper TAGESZEITUNG recently published a report alleging that the FRG Government has information about the presence of Soviet chemical weapons on the territory of the Warsaw Pact states.

Having produced this lie the newspaper tries to lend it verisimilitude with the aid of additional details. In particular it reports that at a secret session of the West German Bundestag committee for defense questions representatives of the FRG Government stated that as of August there were 26,600 tonnes of Soviet chemical weapons at 15 stores in the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. NATO allegedly does not publish these reports officially in order to "avoid scandal."

This is not the first time such falsifications have appeared. As we can see their regular revival pursues one single aim—casting a shadow on the efforts which the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries are making to create an atmosphere of trust and openness at the talks on banning chemical weapons and completely eliminating them on a global scale.

Our country has frequently stated at the highest level that the Soviet Union has no chemical weapons beyond its national territory and that includes the fact that there are no chemical weapons in the groups of Soviet troops on the territory of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The Warsaw Pact states have also stated that they have no chemical weapons stocks.

If someone has doubts on this score, we suggest to the interested countries that we elaborate coordinated procedures on an equal and reciprocal basis, guided by which it would be possible to check the presence or absence of Soviet and U.S. chemical weapons outside their national territories, including in Central Europe. Why, for instance, should the Soviet Union and the United States not agree with their allies on holding inspections for this purpose on the territories of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries? The USSR is prepared for this. Unfortunately, no such desire can be seen on the part of the Western countries. That is no accident.

After all, if a check confirms the correctness of the Soviet statements, it will be harder to justify the need for perplexing U.S. steps like the president's decision to produce chemical weapons even after the convention banning them has been signed. The myth of Soviet chemical weapons in Central Europe is necessary only to those who are striving to preserve U.S. chemical stocks in this region as long as possible and it objectively helps the U.S. administration in continuing the production of chemical weapons.

Nuclear-Free Zone Commission Meets in Denmark

LD0111221389 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Copenhagen November 1 TASS—Nordic countries are called upon to make efforts on the international plane for an early start of talks on disarmament at sea, especially in tactical nuclear weapons. Priority attention must be given to Northern and the Baltic Sea, says a resolution passed by the Inter-Parliamentary Commission of Nordic Countries on the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe.

The commission welcomed the initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on his visit to Finland, designed to contribute to the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe, as well as changes underway in East European countries.

"All this underscores the need to use the new opportunities for disarmament and table fresh initiatives capable of leading to a reduction in the nuclear arms arsenals on the European continent", says the draft.

The parliamentarians stated that in all Nordic countries disarmament and detente enjoy broad popular support. In these conditions the nuclear-free zone as a major confidence-building measure could serve as a lever to assist the plans to rid Europe of nuclear weapons, the meeting said.

Subcommittee Discusses Security in Europe

LD0111213889 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn November 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev:

Armed force and arms reductions in Europe and achieving stability and security on this basis dominated the second day of discussions in the sub-committee for Eastern Europe, joined by parliamentarians from Warsaw Treaty countries. The sub-committee is part of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly—NATO's consultative body of some 200 deputies of the national parliaments.

Admiral Hans Frank, representing the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Germany, acquainted the audience in detail with the status and prospects of the talks on conventional armed forces and confidence-building and security measures in Europe now in progress in Vienna.

In his view, the third round of talks on conventional arms reductions demonstrated the sides' reciprocal interest in achieving results and an appreciable rapprochement of their basic concepts.

Talks are proceeding at a pace that would be inconceivable a mere few years ago. The participants have adopted a constructive, businesslike, and purposeful approach, flexibly responding to proposals of the opposite side, which, in the final analysis, determines the dynamics of the process.

Frank believes it is possible to achieve compromises on the outstanding issues as well, such as determining the types of combat aircraft and helicopters subject to cuts as well as reduction in the numerical strength of the forces.

Implementation of this last proposal, in the opinion of NATO experts, is difficult allegedly because of verification complexities.

An official from the Czechoslovak delegation rejected the admiral's assertions that the unilateral measures of the socialist countries to reduce troops and arms have not done anything to change the continent's alignment of forces which is still characterised by the Warsaw Treaty's superiority.

The Bundeswehr delegate, the Czechoslovak official said, offers assessments which differ from statements of prominent U.S. politicians praising such steps. Czechoslovakia intends to adopt extra measures of unilateral reduction of its armed forces and impart them a defensive character.

The official from Czechoslovakia also drew attention to the problem of arms modernisation. The setting of ceilings for particular types of arms alone, he said, will not automatically lead to stability. It is necessary to introduce strict control over the process of reequipping the armies with new, sophisticated types of weapons.

One of the leaders of the Hungarian delegation to the Vienna talks urged taking into account the strategic interests of the two great powers in Europe. Since the United States is quite remote from the continent, he said, it feels the need to store in Europe large quantities of ammunition and other materiel. As regards the USSR, the Hungarian official said, its airforce discharges important tasks of defending the European allies from a potential NATO attack, which also has to be taken into account in the pursuit of the talks.

The participants favoured a more active participation of national parliaments in arms reductions talks. Some speakers said these matters should be discussed not only in the committees on defence and foreign policy but also in the corresponding budget committees.

TASS Reports SDI-Related Test Postponed

LD3110083189 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 31 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Kirilchenko:

The United States has had to postpone until next year a new series of kinetic weapon tests under the 'Strategic Defence Initiative' (SDI) until next year.

The tests are of critical importance to the development of a land-based interceptor missile, the journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY emphasises.

Originally, tests were scheduled for August or September of this year but were postponed for technical reasons: The system for the destruction of an interceptor missile in case of malfunction was not reliable enough.

If this problem is resolved by the end of the year, the first experiments will be held at the White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico, shortly thereafter.

Both land-based and air tests of the weapon system, designed to destroy enemy missiles at the moment of their entry into the earth's atmosphere, are expected to be held within the next few years.

The cost of the contract, granted by the MacDonnell Douglas aerospace corporation for the development of a new SDI-related weapon system, is estimated at 380 million dollars.

Despite budget restrictions on the SDI programme, the Pentagon attaches increased importance to such tests.

They should result in the emergence of weapons which would become a final element in the SDI system, the journal points out.

TASS Reports Gerasimov News Briefing 2 Nov

UN Namibia Resolution

LD0211163489 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—"The unanimous approval by the U.N. Security Council on October 31st of a resolution on Namibia has been received with satisfaction in the USSR," Soviet foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said at a briefing here today.

The resolution supports the U.N. secretary-general in his efforts to implement Security Council Resolution 435 demanding that South Africa should disband all remaining paramilitary, ethnic and territorial forces in southwest Africa, should lift all restrictions and abolish all discriminatory legislation obstructing free and fair elections in Namibia, scheduled for November 7-14.

"The approval of this resolution is extra proof of U.N. determination to carry through its plan," Gerasimov noted. "The situation in Namibia makes it incumbent on the world community and especially on the Security Council to keep an eye on the process of decolonization in Namibia so that it would be carried out completely according to the spirit and letter of Resolution 435."

Loncar Visit

LD0211163889 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman described the Soviet visit by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar as an important stage in Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

Addressing a briefing here today, Gennadiy Gerasimov briefed journalists about talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Budimir Loncar in Moscow between October 31 and November 1.

The sides signed a programme for cooperation in culture, science and education for 1989-1991 and an agreement on mutual visits by the two countries' citizens, he continued.

During their discussion, the ministers supported the earliest possible understanding at the talks on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, limitation of nuclear tests and prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

They confirmed their commitment to the European process, discussed problems of international economic relations and noted the need for a collective search for the urgent and just settlement of dangerous regional conflicts.

The sides pointed to the increasingly constructive role of the Non-aligned Movement in the establishment of a new and just international order, free from wars and violence.

Loncar is now visiting Leningrad.

UN Afghanistan Resolution

LD0211164189 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—A Soviet spokesman today expressed the Soviet Union's satisfaction with the approval on Wednesday by consensus of a resolution on the Afghan question by the U.N. General Assembly.

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the resolution underscores the significance of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and envisages the need for the earliest possible start of an intra-Afghan dialogue to form a broadly-based government.

The document notes that a successful political settlement of the Afghan problem would favourably influence the international situation and give impetus to settling other burning regional problems.

The spokesman noted that the USSR is satisfied that the resolution was drafted and approved in a business-like and non- confrontational atmosphere.

Gerasimov also said that the Soviet Union hopes that the constructive atmosphere shaping up around this question at the United Nations will help improve the U.N. in efforts to achieve an Afghan settlement and the earliest possible elimination of the long- running conflict.

Bulgarian-Turkish Relations

LD0211164789 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The Soviet Union has always favoured a settlement of Bulgarian-Turkish disputes through constructive dialogue, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The Soviet Union regards the recent meeting between Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Georgi Yordanov and Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz as a good beginning for normalising and developing Bulgarian-Turkish relations. The talks were held in al-Kuwait on the initiative of Amir of Kuwait and chairman of the Islamic conference organisation Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al-Sabah.

The sides discussed Bulgarian-Turkish relations and their agreement to hold a new round of talks in al-Kuwait this November, Gerasimov said.

Swedish Foreign Minister's Visit

LD0211174389 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—"The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the forthcoming visit of Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson to the USSR and hopes that it will contribute to the strengthening of friendship and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told at a briefing here today.

Gerasimov said that the Swedish minister would pay an official visit to the Soviet Union from November 8-12.

Andersson will meet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, and will have talks with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The Swedish foreign minister will visit Estonia and Latvia from November 8-9, and Lithuania on November 12.

Gerasimov noted that the Soviet-Swedish political dialogue has developed dynamically in recent years. The positions of these two countries coincide or are very close on many international problems. Scientific and cultural cooperation is expanding.

"However," Gerasimov said, "the potential of bilateral relations is not fully used yet, especially in the economy, although there are favourable opportunities in this sphere. Roundtable conferences are being held for this purpose on problems of socio-economic development."

U.S. Report on Soviet Defense Capability

LD0211174989 Moscow TASS in English 1635 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman described the Soviet visit by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar as an important stage in Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

Addressing a briefing here today, Gennadiy Gerasimov briefed journalists about talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Budimir Loncar in Moscow between October 31 and November 1.

Gerasimov said that the Swedish minister Sten Andersson would pay an official visit to the Soviet Union from November 8-12.

"The Soviet Union hopes that the visit will contribute to the strengthening of friendship and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said in this connection.

"The unanimous approval by the U.N. Security Council on October 31st of a resolution on Namibia has been received with satisfaction in the USSR," Gennadiy Gerasimov said further.

"The situation in Namibia makes it incumbent on the world community and especially on the Security Council to keep an eye on the process of decolonization in namibia so that it would be carried out completely according to the spirit and letter of Resolution 435."

He expressed the Soviet Union's satisfaction with the approval on Wednesday by consensus of a resolution on the Afghan question by the U.N. General Assembly.

The spokesman noted that the USSR is satisfied that the resolution was drafted and approved in a business-like and non- confrontational atmosphere.

Gerasimov also said that the Soviet Union hopes that the constructive atmosphere shaping up around this question at the United Nations will help involve the U.N. in efforts to achieve an Afghan settlement and the earliest possible elimination of the long- running conflict.

Noting that the Soviet Union has always favoured a settlement of Bulgarian-Turkish disputes through constructive dialogue, Gerasimov said that the USSR regards the recent meeting between Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Georgi Yordanov and turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz as a good beginning for normalising and developing Bulgarian-Turkish relations. The talks were held in Kuwait on the initiative of Amir of Kuwait and chairman of the Islamic Conference Organisation Jabir Al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah.

Gerasimov described as a vestige of the cold war the annual report on the activities to spread Soviet influence, which was recently published by the U.S. State Department.

Pointing to the need to stop the publication of such reports, the spokesman noted that the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate and the USIA achieved an understanding on regular meetings to discuss mutual claims.

Asked by journalists about the Nicaraguan Government's decision not to extend the unilateral ceasefire, Gerasimov said that the Sandinista government repeatedly expressed its intention to observe obligations taken at the meeting of central American presidents.

The Nicaraguan Government expects that the other part of these understandings concerning the disbandment of Contra units will be also fulfilled, Gerasimov stressed.

"We hope," the spokesman said, "that the situation in Nicaragua will return to normal and political means will be found to settle the current situation."

Texas Conference Examines Afghanistan Question

LD0211114889 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Chytov:

The University of Texas has sponsored a representative scientific conference in Austin, Texas. The conference, entitled "Afghan Legacy", drew specialists from other American research centres, the United Nations organisation and the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The conference was attended by leading experts on the Afghan problem working in the United States. The main report, "Afghanistan: The legacy and the lessons", was made by Jagat Mehta, a former Indian ambassador in the United States and now a Texas University professor.

The participants in the forum thoroughly analysed the Afghanistan situation. The discussion embraced the following topics: "Settlement of crises with the participation of the super powers by Afghanistan's example", "Soviet lessons of the Afghan war", "The anatomy of inter-connection: "Afghanistan and Iran", "Consequences of the Afghan events for the South Asian region", "Afghanistan: Its division and chances for unity."

The conference was marked by a frank and informal atmosphere which was conducive to finding a consensus on a number of key problems. All the participants agreed it was necessary to press primarily for the simultaneous termination of arms deliveries to Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and the United States.

One of the fundamental conclusions is that the United Nations should play the leading role in all affairs linked with the Afghan settlement. All those present, among them experts available for consultations to U.S. governmental departments, agreed that the irreconcilable Afghan extremists, based in Peshawar, are acceptable to nobody.

The conference lent a constructive and businesslike spirit to the attempts to find mutual understanding on one of the most acute international problems.

U.S., West Europe Differ on COCOM Restrictions

PM3110152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 89 Second Edition p6

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch under the rubric "From the Scene of Events": "16:1 in Favor of Common Sense"]

[Text] Paris, 29 Oct—Many French observers regard President F. Mitterrand's speech to the European Parliament on 25 October as a kind of landmark in French politics. In this speech, the president not only determined a new direction in the task of building a "united Europe" by the end of 1992, but also called for a total review of the Western countries' postwar policy in relation to the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe as a whole. In particular, the president urged France's partners in NATO and the "Common Market" to face reality and join their efforts in giving assistance to East European countries, primarily Poland. He also advanced the idea of creating a "new bank for Europe" which could finance major projects in CEMA countries; the leadership of this bank would include the EEC countries, Poland, Hungary, and "possibly the Soviet Union," which was offered the status of observer in GATT and the IMF in the Strasbourg speech. Commenting on the speech in Strasbourg, political observers in Paris and other European capitals have noted France's obvious desire to develop a new European policy considerably different from the one pursued by the United States.

The session of the COCOM executive committee—COCOM is the control organ of NATO which monitors the export of Western goods to socialist countries—held recently (25-26 October) is highly interesting in this connection. For the first time in the history of COCOM, which was set up at U.S. insistence, the day the session opened the U.S. delegation telegraphed to the State Department: "Score 16:1 not in our favor." Indeed, 15 NATO countries plus Japan opposed Washington's attempts to continue to use COCOM as an insuperable barrier in the way of exporting modern Western technology and know-how to the USSR and other East European countries.

Even at the preliminary meeting, the Americans were told that Europe expects them to pursue a more flexible export policy that would take account of the changes taking place in socialist countries and the situation on the international market. After all, it is well known that those goods still included in the prohibitive COCOM lists have long been produced by countries not belonging to the EEC and NATO as well as by Japan. Many West European experts believe that these countries have been able to exploit the absence of competition from the NATO member-states and have begun to supply the socialist market with those goods which COCOM terms strategic.

However, the United States did not come to the Paris session with proposals to review the COCOM list of prohibitions in favor of greater flexibility, but with a report on research carried out by U.S. intelligence, which alleged that in the last 5 years some 5,000 machine tools and machinery have been sold illegally to the Soviet Union and that this has been damaging to the West's defense capability. The Bush administration expressed particular dissatisfaction with the Italian firm "Olivetti," threatening it with sanctions and a refusal to accept its goods on the American market. "Olivetti" is accused of supplying the Soviet Union with prohibited equipment which can apparently be used to make aircraft engines. As is well known, in a similar case last year the United States used sanctions against the Japanese firm "Toshiba," which had had the temerity to breach the COCOM prohibitions.

Nevertheless, despite the passions which raged around the COCOM session in Paris, the United States was unable to totally ignore the "spirit of the times." According to the information conveyed to journalists by the American embassy in Paris, the COCOM session examined the question of liberalizing the existing lists of strategic goods. However, the conclusions drawn by the session fall far short of the program of action formulated by President F. Mitterrand in Strasbourg.

The rebellion at the session revealed a great deal. Not so much even in economic respects—although it is obvious that the existing COCOM prohibitions are damaging not least to those who introduced them and those who comply with them—but in political respects. Bonn, Paris, and other European capitals have appealed to the United States more than once to abolish the odious prohibitions, because they are impeding change in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To all appearances, the United States' European allies in NATO are ready to support the transformations taking place in socialist countries more actively and constructively than their partners across the ocean.

Gremitskikh Comments on Sishlin Interview

AU3110110189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 31 Oct 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Shishlin May Slip"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—Nikolay Shishlin is not a CSPU spokesman, he is a connoisseur of America and "may also slip on the European ice." This was stated by Yuriy Gremitskikh, deputy spokesman of the Soviet Foreign ministry, who is visiting Vienna.

In a U.S. television interview, in which he was introduced as a party spokesman, Shishlin had made positive comments on German reunification. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze on 'Dynamic' U.S. Ties, Arms Cuts

LD0211170989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1545 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Rome, Nov 2 (TANJUG)—The development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States is becoming increasingly dynamic and concrete, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the Italian news agency ADNCRONOS-NEWS.

Shevardnadze assessed that the U.S.-Soviet summit on December 2 and 3 aboard Soviet and U.S. naval vessels in the Mediterranean, off Malta, could serve to lay foundations for an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic arsenals of the two big powers.

Asked whether an agreement on this could be signed by Bush and Gorbachev during the meeting scheduled for the end of next spring or the beginning of summer in the United States, Shevardnadze replied that as far as he was concerned this will be an opportunity which should certainly be used.

Bush Interview on December Meeting Noted

LD0211150789 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 2 TASS—In his ABC radio interview on Wednesday U.S. President George Bush spoke about the forthcoming meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Since we are talking on November 1st and since on October 31st I announced a meeting with President Gorbachev, I think the fact that we could deal with that matter internally in a way that built confidence with our Soviet counterparts was a satisfying result," he said.

"When you first took office, you said you weren't interested in that type of informal meeting. Why did you change your mind? What do you hope to accomplish in this?", he was asked.

"I changed my mind because the changes that are taking place in the world are so dynamic and so dramatic that I don't want to miss an opportunity to enhance world peace, and I don't want to miss an opportunity to enhance the interests of the United States of America. And so, after talking to our allies and talking to some in Eastern Europe, it seemed—and after setting a summit that's going to treat with agenda items on arms control, it seemed to me it'd be a good idea to visit with him. And it's something the Soviets want to do, and I think it'll be a good meeting. But it is not a summit—it is not a summit meeting," the President answered.

The President said that the biggest challenge facing the U.S. Administration "in a broad, global sense is world peace and managing the free world and the U.S. role in understanding and coping with the enormously dramatic changes that are taking place in the Warsaw Pact countries".

Bush Wants New Relationship With Latin America

LD2810103889 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] San Jose October 28 TASS—U.S. President George Bush favoured establishing new partnership between the United States and Latin America. Speaking on his arrival in San Jose for a meeting of heads of American countries, he said this relationship should rest on "mutual respect and mutual responsibility."

"I'm here in San Jose to make it clear to the democratic leaders of this hemisphere that we embrace this new partnership."

"I believe," the President said, "we can create here in the Americas the world's first completely democratic hemisphere. And I also believe that the Americas can become the model for the rest of the world for a true partnership between the developed and the developing world."

Bush also urged countries of the western hemisphere to unite to "confront and defeat the new slayers of the democratic dream—the narco traffickers who poison our children, murder elected officials and wage war on civil society."

U.S. Congress Adopts Anti-Nicaragua Resolution

LD0211225189 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

The U.S. House of Representatives adopted by a majority vote (379 for, 29 against) an anti-Nicaraguan resolution today, which leaves no doubts about Washington's intention to give military and financial aid to the Contras.

It provides for appropriating Nicaraguan Contras "humanitarian" aid to the tune of four million dollars every year. In fact, this prods anti-Sandinista forces to continue the undeclared war against Nicaragua with overt support from the United States.

Last April Congress passed a bill to appropirate "humanitarian" aid of 49.7 million dollars to Contras. It is used by Contra chieftains for arms purchases abroad.

At the same time some congressmen voice concern over the growing U.S. interference on the eve of the general elections in Nicaragua to be held next February.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives warned Contras in a resolution adopted on Thursday against interference or attempts to thwart the elections. The committee called on them to abide by the agreement on a ceasefire.

Following the Administration's policy to put pressure on the Sandinista government, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater alleged at a briefing on Thursday that it would be "unrealistic" to expect that the Contras would disband voluntarily.

This statement is at variance with actions by some Contra groups which crossed from Honduras to Nicaragua, laid down arms and returned to peaceful life. The AP news agency notes that the White House encourages Contras to continue the armed struggle against the Ortega government.

Local analysts note that the Sandinista government is painstakingly fulfilling its obligations under the agreements achieved by the presidents of five Central American states in Tela and is committed to strengthening the process of national reconciliation and democratisation.

Pan Am Suit Against U.S. Agencies Noted

LD0211112489 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

The District of Colombia Federal Court, the highest justice body in the American capital, has subpoenaed six top-ranking U.S. departments and federal intelligence services to produce documents pertaining to the explosion of a Pan-Am airliner over Scotland on December 21, 1988.

Last December a Pan-Am Boeing-747, on a Frankfurt-London-New York flight, blew up over Lockerbie, Scotland. The explosion was caused by a bomb. As many as 259 passengers and 11 Lockerbie residents were killed as a result of the catastrophe, one of the gravest in the history of world civil aviation.

The court order was issued in reply to a Pan-Am application. The company leaders claim that different U.S. Government agencies knew about the "terrorist threat" several hours before the flight 103 explosion.

Court notices have been sent to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigations, the National Security Council, the National Security Agency and the Drug Enforcement Agency.

The company demands, specifically, that all information that was received by U.S. agencies from West German anti-terrorist departments and intelligence services warning that "there was suspicious activity around the luggage compartment of flight 103" be submitted to the court.

According to Pan-Am, the warning was made 90 minutes before the plane took off from Frankfurt. THE WASHINGTON POST and THE NEW YORK TIMES reported on Tuesday that the bomb was most likely placed on board the Boeing-747 in the Frankfurt airport. The company's management insists that all U.S. federal departments and agencies responsible for combating terrorism should report in detail on their efforts to investigate information about "suspicious activity" around the Pan-Am liner or to cut them short.

U.S. Forming New 'Approach' to Perestroyka

90UI0094A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 44, 1 Nov 89 p 9

[Article by Edgar Cheporov, NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY correspondent for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, New York: "Overcoming Distrust in Perestroyka"]

[Text] The U.S. Administration, for the first time since assuming the reigns of government, has clearly formulated its view of our perestroyka. This involves not only a definition of new positions, but also a departure from a number of its previous appraisals. Within a few short days, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, first in New York and later in San Francisco, announced that the administration intends "to take advantage of the historic opportunity" for a fundamental improvement in relations with the USSR. He said that it is perestroyka and the new thinking in international politics that have created the prerequisites for arms control that were "unthinkable a decade ago." The secretary believes that the success of perestroyka responds to "fundamental American interests."

Thus, is this a new chapter in Soviet-American relations? It seems to me that there are grounds for an affirmative answer to this question.

This approach did not come easily to the administration. James Baker acknowledged that his opinions, as well as the official position in general, "have gone through an evolution." Here is the testimony of THE NEW YORK TIMES: "Officials of the State Department make no secret of the fact that the speech of their chief is intended to demonstrate how far, starting in January, the views of James Baker on relations with Moscow have evolved. In the period of the campaign for the office of president, George Bush and his team campaigned under the slogan 'Peace Through Strength,' and they chose not to mention perestroyka in the USSR, but with respect to relations with the USSR, the emphasis was on the need 'to act with utmost caution.'"

The changes evolved slowly. Unacceptably slowly, as the leaders of the Democratic Party believe. George Mitchell, leader of the senate majority, rebuked the Republicans for "an almost nostalgic attitude toward the 'Cold War'." The sources of the delay are diverse. One of these is that there has been no agreement of views, and there is no agreement of views on the USSR to this day. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney predicted "the fall of the Soviet leadership." The influential Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleberger warned that perestroyka will have a harmful effect on the international situation and that it should therefore not be supported. Such harsh views were also expressed more than once by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle. He even now, after the recent speeches of James Baker, remarked about us: "Let them reconstruct themselves..."

Perhaps this is a division of roles? The method is well-known—a balance is being sought, and what is said by one politician is counterbalanced by another. But this time, it is not the case. With all the pluralism of opinions, the leaders of the administration are holding off on the last word, and they do not want anyone to distort it.

The new view of the USSR did not come easily to the administration because it also had to overcome its own skepticism. Now officials of the administration say, after just barely coming into office, that they considered themselves much more far-sighted in estimates of the Soviet Union than the "naive" and "romantically inclined" Ronald Reagan. They asserted that at that time Ronald Reagan, after starting with the slogan about the "evil empire," afterwards obviously "went too far" in making his administration a partner with the Russians in the destruction of nuclear weapons. But time has shown that the former president was moving in the right direction.

When the new leaders themselves began to take the first steps on this path, they had to find arguments against, it would seem, the non-risk argument of the enemies of detente with the USSR that, after strengthening its own economy, the Russians will become more powerful, and they will acquire new capabilities to threaten America with military might. James Baker's argument: After carrying out their reforms "Moscow will become another Moscow, with a significantly higher probability that it will seek a peaceful resolution of conflicts."

"It is not possible to implement perestroyka in the USSR," I was told by Ed Hewett, a well-known economist from the Brookings Institution in Washington, "without an extreme and sweeping democratization of the entire society and without reforms of the entire political and economic system. Democratization will become one of the main guarantees of the stability of the situation in the USSR and the predictability of its actions in foreign affairs."

The administration, it seems to me, would also not come easily to its present decision, because far from everyone in the United States is inclined to believe in the success of perestroyka, or even wishing its success. I had occasion to hear more than once the pragmatical questions: "Should we, as Americans, get involved in a partnership with a country that is shaken by economic disorder? Should we not wait for the outcome?" The present speeches of James Baker make it possible to make a judgment about the level of economic cooperation which the administration believes is acceptable at the present time. James Baker is not disturbed, as he put it, "by the uncertainty of perestroyka's future," and that the administration is ready in such a situation to develop relations with the USSR. It is ready because, in his opinion, the process of change taking place in our country is irreversible. To assist those Soviets working on perestroyka, the secretary of state believes that it is necessary to send American experts on marketing, price formation, and the creation of new enterprises. I note that the press assessed this proposal as excessively modest. It is necessary to start, they write here, with an immediate abrogation of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which discriminates against Soviet products. Incidentally, Vanik himself is among those who is especially active against it.

Zbigniew Brzezinski Visit to Moscow Reported

Received by Yakovlev

LD3110160689 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—Soviet Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Aleksandr Yakovlev today received Zbigniew Brzezinski, prominent U.S. politician and former National Security adviser.

During the conversation, which was held in a constructive atmosphere, they discussed topical issues of present-day international developments, Soviet-American relations and the developments in the Soviet Union and the United States.

Participates in Europe Forum

LD0111204989 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Ivanov:

Until quite recently it was inconceivable that the views of Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser in the Carter administration, could become a subject for constructive discussions involving Soviet and American political scientists.

In October 1989, however, the world has sufficiently changed to make Brzezinski a guest of the Soviet Diplomatic Academy.

For five days Soviet and American political scientists discussed the future of the "common European home" concept in a scientific conference on "Changing Europe: Soviet and American Approaches", which closed on Wednesday.

Many things U.S. scholars said were close to the feelings of Soviet scientists. Brzezinski's idea of the need for closer cooperation between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO generated keen interest.

His idea that nothing should obstruct the Warsaw Treaty countries' cooperation with the European Economic Community, also deserves attention.

Commenting on the results of the conference, Academician Oleg Bogomolov said that the discussions were useful not only to political scientists.

They can also exert a positive impact in terms of bringing closer together the positions of professional diplomats although views tended to differ on many issues of the future of Europe. "For instance, like Brzezinski, we support the principle of free choice for all states", Bogomolov said.

"However, unlike him, we do not think this inevitably requires a departure from socialism".

"Differences in positions," Oleg Peresypkin, rector of the Diplomatic Academy, said, "are natural for political scientists. They are no hindrance to finding common ground".

The scientists will continue their dialogue on the problems of Europe: Next year they will meet again, this time in the United States.

Primakov, Delegation Continue U.S. Visit

Tour Wichita With Senator Dole

LD3010100189 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Wichita, Kansas, October 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Igor Borisenko:

The Soviet Parliamentary delegation led by Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, continues its tour of the United States.

The delegation, visiting the U.S. at the invitation of U.S. Congressional leaders, arrived in Wichita, Kansas, on Sunday.

This industrial and financial centre sprawls on both banks of the Arkansas River. It is referred to as the world's aircraft capital, for enterprises of the large aircraft building corporations Boeing, Cessna and Beechcraft are located here.

At the centre of Wichita, the spirit of the prairies is preserved in a stylised statue of an American Indian stretching his hands to the horizon, pointing to the fields of wheat, the staple crop of the state.

The Soviet deputies acquainted themselves with the history of Kansas agriculture in Dodge city, where a special exhibition was arranged at Boot Hill.

The exhibition revealed that hard red wheat was brought to Kansas from Russia decades ago.

The Soviet guests were given an oportunity to tour those city blocks that are kept the way they looked in the days of the first settlers.

At the city's conference centre the delegation met Dodge City residents. American-Soviet relations were discussed in a lively and non-confrontational way.

The Soviet delegation's visit to Kansas provides a unique opportunity for people of the state and the Soviet Union's representatives to meet face-to-face, to exchange opinions on a wide range of problems and simply to smile at one another, pointed out Kansas Senator Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate.

Later in the day Dole gave a reception in honour of the USSR people's deputies. The reception was attended by his wife Elizabeth Dole, U.S. secretary of labour, Michael Hayden, the governor of Kansas, the mayor of Wichita and representatives of the city authorities and the general public.

Leave Kansas for California

LD3010222189 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Wichita, Kansas. October 31 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Igor Borisenko:

A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the United States at the invitation of congressional leaders, was visiting Kansas on Monday [31 October]

The delegation is led by Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and candidate Politburo member.

The Soviet parliamentarians visited a grain elevator of the union equity company at Hutchinson. The elevator is one of the largest in the United States.

Then, Senate Republican Minority Leader Robert Dole, who was accompanying the delegation around Kansas, invited the Soviet deputies to visit a farm near Wichita to acquaint themselves with the organisation of agricultural production.

On the same day, the delegation left Kansas for California.

Visit California

LD0111094589 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Los Angeles November 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, led by Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union Yevgeniy Primakov, is now visiting the state of California.

The delegation visited on-location film shootings, viewed the newest film-making techniques and met MCA film company senior officials at the invitation of the Universal Pictures film studio, one of the world's largest studios, on Tuesday.

The delegation was then invited to visit one of the modern McDonnell Douglas aircraft enterprises.

The American press is providing broad coverage of the Soviet delegation's visit. The newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST reported on Tuesday the completion of the Soviet delegation's tour of Kansas, describing it as a triumphant tour of Soviet deputies. The Soviet people's deputies won the American hearts, the newspaper writes.

The U.S. "Wild West citadel, Dodge City, was charmed by the ten Soviet deputies and their enthusiastic guide, Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, the newspaper noted.

The Soviet deputies were accorded a warm and heart-felt welcome everywhere. Their business-like speeches and frank answers to questions were repeatedly interrupted by ovations. Wherever they went, they were surrounded by Americans hoping to get their autographs and to converse with them, the newspaper says.

Meet Los Angeles Mayor

LD0111222289 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Los Angeles, California November 2 TASS—By TASS Special Correspondent Igor Borisenko:

A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet staying in the U.S. at the invitation of leaders of the congress met with Mayor of Los Angeles Thomas Bradley on November 1.

The Supreme Soviet delegation is led by Yevgeniy Primakov, president of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo.

Welcoming Soviet parliamentarians, the mayor of Los Angeles said that people in Los Angeles received with great interest a report about the forthcoming Soviet-American summit.

The head of the Soviet delegation said that the news about the forthcoming Soviet-American meeting evoked a positive response everywhere.

The mayor of Los Angeles pointed to the need for the development of contacts between the peoples of the two countries.

He said that immediately after the devastating quake had shaken Armenia, a broad campaign to collect funds for relief to quake victims was launched in Los Angeles. He said he had been present during the send-off of a plane with cargoes for relief.

"We highly appreciate the aid given us in those trying days", the head of the Soviet delegation said.

USSR people's deputies were invited to the Hall of Meetings of the Municipal Council.

Speaking before members of the Los Angeles Municipal Council, Primakov thanked them for warm reception and expressed the hope that Leningrad and Los Angeles will become sister cities.

"We are striving to develop ties with all peoples, Americans included", USSR People's Deputies A. Sobchak told members of the Los Angeles Municipal Council.

He expressed the hope that ties between Leningrad and Los Angeles will soon be established.

Members of the delegation met with heads of the editorial office of the LOS ANGELES TIMES and spoke at the Los Angeles World Affairs Council.

Arrive in New York

LD0311042189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0015 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] New York, 3 Nov (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation arrived in New York on Thursday. It is in the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Congressional leadership.

The agenda for the Soviet legislators' visit to the largest U.S. city includes a speech by delegation head Ye. M. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the New York Council for International Relations; a visit to UN Headquarters; and familiarization with the work of the New York Stock Exchange.

Electoral Commission Officials Visit U.S.

LD0311040989 Moscow TASS in English 2348 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 3 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

A delegation of the Soviet Central Electoral Commission led by its Chairman Vladimir Orlov, arrived in Washington on Thursday.

During the ten-day visit, the Soviet delegation will visit Washington D.C., Annapolis (Maryland), Richmond (Virginia) and New York N.Y.

The delegation arrived here at the invitation of the U.S. Federal Electoral Commission. The private research International Foundation for Election System Studies also helped arrange the visit.

The present trip of the Soviet delegation is a return visit. American election experts visited the Soviet Union in June this year.

U.S.-Soviet Conference in Pittsburgh Continues

On Environment, Family

LD0111104489 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Pittsburgh November 1 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Igor Makurin and Yuriy Ustimenko:

The problem of the environment, the family, women and youths dominated the fifth general conference on U.S-Soviet relations, currently taking place at the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Participants in the plenary meeting and "roundtable" talks held on Tuesday noted that the Soviet Union and the United States have broad opportunities for cooperation in various spheres, including efforts to preserve our planet for the coming generations.

The speakers emphasised that the results of decades of a senseless, and sometimes simply barbaric attitude to nature have become particularly obvious today. Humanity needs joint and urgent measures to avoid an ecological disaster. No one disputed this matter. Everybody agreed that the struggle for nature's conservation is a struggle for survival, and that cooperation in this field should be multilateral. We should unite to assess ecological threats, exchange information and scientific data, take urgent preventive actions, develop solutions to already existing problems, and provide emergency aid in extreme ecological situations.

U.S politician Geraldine Ferraro talked about common problems facing Soviet and American women. She pointed out that women should be more represented in state bodies and participate more actively in the economical, political and public life of their countries.

Ferraro emphasised that women around the world are united by a desire to preserve world peace for the sake of their children and grandchildren.

About 300 American and foreign journalists are accredited in Pittsburgh. Such meetings have been held regularly since 1985. According the THE NEW YORK TIMES, they serve as a barometer of Soviet-American relations. Unlike in previous years, which were marked by sharp discussions and differences, this year's conference became a forum for planning the economic cooperation between the two countries.

The United States wants to increase trade, mainly of "non-strategic goods," and economic ties with the Soviet Union, U.S. State Department spokesman Mark Palmer told TASS. Despite the fact that hundreds of American firms are interested in the Soviet market, they are encountering great difficulties, including the inconvertibility of the rouble, undeveloped Soviet infrastructure, red-tape and low-quality goods.

Soviet and American representatives stressed the urgent need to establish a sincere and honest dialogue to remove all obstacles towards increasing Soviet-American trade, including discriminatory restrictions in the U.S. legislation.

Soviet representative R. Tomberg noted an increase in Soviet-American trade over the past two years. At the same time, he pointed out the obvious insufficiency of mutual trade which does not match the current level of Soviet-U.S. relations.

USSR People's Deputy P. Bunich told the plenary meeting about the USSR Supreme Soviet's plans for new legislation on economic and social reforms.

The conference also discussed prospects for cooperation in space. NASA representative Samuel Keller said that the sides were taking the very first steps in this area. They have no concrete plans and are simply studying ways to work together after decades of mistrust and suspicion.

Keller said that Soviet and American scientists were cooperating well with each other and that five working groups were developing joint projects in different spheres.

On Human Rights

LD0311090989 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Pittsburgh November 2 TASS—By special TASS correspondents Igor Makurin and Yuriy Ustimenko:

A positive and fruitful exchange of opinions on human rights was held at Wednesday's plenary meeting of the conference of Soviet and American public, currently under way here.

Participants in the discussion stress that the United States and the Soviet Union now have prospects of concrete and useful cooperation in that area.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter said that Soviet perestroyka embraced all areas of the country's life and its final goal is to establish a law-based state. The process of revolutionary transformations in the Soviet Union is remarkable. He noted that the American and the Soviet peoples, having opted for democracy, become closer and more understandable to each other.

The minister of justice of the USSR Veniamin Yakovlev said that in the sphere of human rights the Soviet Union and the United States can efficiently cooperate for the good of peoples not only of their countries, but also of the world. Earlier human rights were an area of confrontation and criticism. Now this is an area for serious exchanges of experience and cooperation.

The Soviet Minister dwelt in detail on new legislation being drawn up by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The participants in the conference held a discussion on problems of present-day society and stressed the need for the USSR and the United States to cooperate in dealing with drug-addiction and other ugly social phenomena.

A joint classical music and dance concert, involving Pittsburgh opera theatre artists and Soviet performers from Leningrad, Kiev and other cities, was performed in the evening.

China

Moscow TV Notes Political Situation in China

LD2210213689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 22 October carries the "International Panorama" program presented by Aleksandr Bovin. In one of the program's reports, Bovin considers the situation in the PRC, first noting: "The most profound and biggest changes have taken place primarily in the economy in China." In this 54-minute report Bovin goes on to list some of these economic changes: "Perhaps one can even say that in China politics and democratization are lagging behind the economy. In my opinion the tragic events on Tiananmen Square showed that all too clearly. As is well known our Chinese comrades interpret these events—and incidentally they are still being actively discussed now and conclusions are being drawn from them—as a counterrevolutionary plot, a counterrevolutionary rebellion."

Bovin quotes from an article published during the summer in RENMIN RIBAO on its view of the underlying reasons for the events of the early summer in China, and states: "One gets the general impression that a change is occurring in the correlation between pragmatism and ideology in favor of the later. Just last Sunday the Beijing party organization adopted quite a big resolution on a purge within it. The resolution says that more attention must be paid in cadres policy not to people's professional skills and qualities, but to their ideological dedication. We have said that many times ourselves and we have heard it many times. It is a complex question and quite a contentious one." At this point Bovin introduces a video report from Vladimir Kulikov in Beijing on China's eight democratic parties and groups which have some 400,000 adherents and have existed since before the formation of the PRC. They still have a political role to play in the country. The People's Political Consultative Council, which meets each year is an organ of the People's Democratic Front which includes representatives of the eight democratic parties. It was this council which met in 1949 to adopt the country's constitution and choose China's first people's government.

The video shows pictures of an alleyway as Kulikov continues: "This quiet Beijing alleyway houses the headquarters of many of these parties, including the headquarters of the 36,000 strong China Democratic National Construction Association, which was founded in Shanghai in 1945. The vice chairman of this party Hu Ziang asked us to call him Comrade Hu Ziang." The video shows an interview with an elderly man as the report continues with a translation of his words into Russian. He says: "We have been cooperating with the Communists for decades, ever since the time of the war against Japan and we call ourselves the Communist Party's warriors. But as regards your country, many eminent figures in our party have translated Russian and Soviet literature into Chinese. They have translated Tolstoy, Gorkiy, and Ehrenburg. Today 80 percent of the members of our party are representatives of the intelligentsia. So we are political allies and comrades of yours."

Kulikov lists some of the founders of the party and outlines their role in Chinese history. He then asks Hu Ziang the following question: "Can you form an opposition to the government?" Hu Ziang replies: "There is no need for that. A specific feature of the multiparty system in China is that we are taking the path of cooperation and the Communists see us not as fellow travellers but as allies. Wasn't it Marx who said that in certain circumstances a workers' party can use other parties for its own purposes. That is exactly what is happening in China. That is the essence of our multiparty system which of course is not a copy of the multiparty system in the West." The report continues with a visit to the party's editorial office and library, showing some of the books available, including the works of Lenin and Trotskiy. The party is short of money. It often comes up with critical remarks in its publications and these are often published in RENMIN RIBAO and other Chinese papers. Finally Kulikov says: "In China the democratic parties are not seen as a form of opposition to the Communist Party of China and the government of the country. Comrade Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party stated this unambiguously in his address on the 40th anniversary of the formation of the People's Republic of China, an address which is seen here as an important keynote political document."

Winding up, Bovin notes: "This is, so to speak, a traditional version of the multiparty system under socialism. That is, there may be several parties but one of them, the Communist Party, naturally plays a commanding, dominating position."

PRC UN Delegation Head on Moscow Conference

OW2910025389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 11 Oct 89

[(Molitsev) report—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Listeners: The 32d meeting of the World Federation of United Nations Associations [WFUNA] is being held in Moscow. Here is a report by our station reporter (Molitsev):

The meeting has entered its second day. [passage omitted] The Chinese delegation is led by Comrade Bi Jilong, president of the United Nations Association of

China. During a recess he briefed me on the work of the Chinese delegation at the meeting. Following is his talk:

[Bi] "Our delegation has three main tasks in coming to the Soviet Union this time. The first task is to attend the 32d meeting of the WFUNA which is being held now. The second task is to visit Tashkent at the invitation of the United Nations Association of the USSR after the conclusion of this meeting. Our third task is, after returning from our visit, to hold a discussion meeting with the United Nations Association of the USSR. This meeting will last for approximately 2 days. After completing our tasks, we plan to return to China on 23 October. We delivered a speech at the meeting yesterday. Here are the main points of the speech: We have analyzed the present international situation and the problems confronted by the United Nations. We put forward some suggestions for improving its work and the WFUNA's work and for strengthening cooperation among the United Nations Associations of various countries."

I also asked Comrade Bi Jilong to talk about the prospects for cooperation between the United Nations Associations of the USSR and China.

[Bi] "I think there are good prospects of cooperation. Both China and the Soviet Union are socialist countries, and we have many common viewpoints. Besides, Chinese-Soviet relations have been normalized, and there is mutual understanding. In addition, I think another point that should be mentioned is Comrade Gorbachev's new ideas on (?reform). Here we share many common points of views. Our principal common point of view is that both countries are exerting efforts for world peace. Therefore, I think there are many areas in which we can cooperate."

In conclusion, I aksed Comrade Bi Jilong what problems he wanted the 32d meeting to solve.

[Bi] "One problem was solved at the beginning of the meeting, but this problem is very important to the cause of the WFUNA. The United States, a former member of the WFUNA, could not participate in the activities of this organization because it owed the organization some money. It has not participated in any of its activities for 1 year already. Its membership has been restored at this meeting, after it paid the money. The United States is a world power. Many international problems (?cannot be solved without its participation). Another problem the meeting wants to solve is to improve and strengthen the work of the WFUNA. [passage indistinct]"

PRC Panel Discusses Laws Governing Rallies

PM0211151989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "Regulating Meetings"]

[Text] Beijing—A routine session of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee, which together with the NPC has the right to adopt laws, is now taking place in Beijing. Among the drafts being discussed by the Chinese legislators, the law on meetings and demonstrations presented by the NPC juridical commission is attracting special attention.

As IZVESTIYA has already written, the NPC Standing Committee twice postponed the draft so that there could be a more detailed discussion, to collect opinions and introduce changes. This occurred first in July after the dramatic events in Tiananmen Square and second at the beginning of September. Yang Lieyu, member of the Standing Committee, noted then: "The essence of the law is to guarantee and not to limit citizens' rights."

Observers noted that this idea is clearer in the new version: Based on the Constitution, the law helps to guarantee citizens' rights to meetings and demonstrations and at the same time is based on maintaining public order and social stability. Among the new articles is the following: Demonstrations must be peaceful, weapons and other violent means cannot be used. As is known, according to local regulations, demonstrators must get permission from the public security organs at district and city levels. In the new version there is a clause banning citizens from organizing meetings and demonstrations and participating in those held in places where they do not reside. Civil servants must avoid participating in demonstrations against laws and decisions and the state's general policy. This time there is no mention in the draft of servicemen and policemen. Song Rufen, deputy chairman of the juridical commission, made this comment: "There is no need for this, their duty is to maintain discipline and carry out orders."

China's Ni Zhifu Interviewed on USSR Visit

OW0211115689 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Station reporter (Grudnev) interview with Ni Zhifu, member of the CPC Central Committee and president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] A leader of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has paid an official visit to our country for the first time in the past 20-odd years. During the 1-week visit, the Chinese trade union delegation participated in many activities, including activities to seek ways to further develop cooperation between the two largest workers organizations of the Soviet Union and China.

The Chinese trade union delegation headed by President Ni Zhifu was received by Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. The delegation had a friendly conversation with Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The Chinese guests were briefed on the situation in the political and economic reforms of our country, and they showed a great interest in the role played and activities carried out by the Soviet trade unions in reform. The delegation visited Kiev and Leningrad as well as enterprises in Moscow. It also held meetings with workers and trade unions in the capital.

Ni Zhifu and his party have returned to China. Before the Chinese delegation's departure from Moscow, station reporter (Grudnev) interviewed Ni Zhifu on his impressions and results of the visit to the Soviet Union.

President Ni Zhifu said: [Begin Ni recording] First, let me say something about this friendly visit to the Soviet Union. Since the resumption of relations between the trade unions of the two countries in 1985, my visit as the leader of the Chinese trade unions should be regarded as a big achievement. Although my visit to the Soviet Union is short, it has left a very deep impression on me. I have visited several factories and places of historic interest and scenic beauty; I have been briefed on your achievements in reform. When we met with Shalayev we briefed him on China's economic and political restructuring and the reform of the Chinese trade unions. Those present showed a great interest in the briefing.

Soviet workers in Moscow as well as in Kiev and Leningrad are friendly to us from the bottoms of their hearts, which has left a deep impression on me. Factory workers earnestly hope that new achievements will be made in reform in the socialist direction. I have formally invited Comrade Shalayev to visit China at an appropriate time. I had a very happy conversation with him and exchanged views with him. Cooperation and friendly relations between the trade unions of the two countries will be strengthened. When we met yesterday, Comrade Shalayev said that he hoped for increased contacts and close cooperation between the trade unions of the two countries. Especially when Comrade Gorbachev visited China last May, the leading comrades of the two parties and two countries held meetings and normalized relations between the two parties and two countries. This has also promoted cooperation between the trade unions of the two countries. [end recording]

CPC Member Receives Komsomol Delegation

OW0111121789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation from the Soviet Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] led by Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, concluded its visit to China on Friday. Li Ruihuan, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, received the Soviet delegation. During its stay in China, the Soviet delegation held talks with leaders of the Chinese Communist Youth League and met with Chinese youth in various enterprises and institutions of higher learning.

Song Defu, first secretary of the Chinese Communist Youth League Central Committee, pointed out during his conversation with the Soviet delegation: I have waited so long for such a day. I am very happy that the communist youth league organizations of our two countries have restored their relations.

The leaders of the communist youth leagues of the two countries discussed concrete steps to promote cooperation between Soviet youth and Chinese youth. They exchanged views on the international youth movement, the results of the 13th international youth and student festival held in Pyongyang, and the prospects for youth and student festivals.

RSFSR Public Health Group on China Visit

OW2810145089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation of the Public Health Ministry of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics [RSFSR], headed by Public Health Vice Minister (Kichin), left Moscow for Beijing on 18 October. Before the group's departure, our station reporter (Moiseyev) interviewed (Kichin):

The delegation, composed mainly of scientists from Siberia and the Far East, will visit three provinces: Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning. The exchanges between medical workers in the RSFSR and northeast China are being carried out in line with the policy of promoting cooperation between the RSFSR and neighboring Chinese provinces.

Vice Minister (Kichin) said: [(Kichin) is heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] The purpose of our visit is to promote closer regional cooperation. This is why we are visiting China. We attach great importance to this visit, because the diseases in the Far East are similar to those in northeast China. Better mutual understanding and exchange of regional medical experiences are of great interest to us. Moreover, we are very interested in Oriental medical sciences. Regretably, there is not much research in this field in our country at this time. It is already documented that Oriental medicine is effective in many circumstances. Acupuncture is one example. It has been widely applied in our country. Doctors in many different disciplines want to know how to practice it. Furthermore, the same medicinal herbs can be found in the Soviet Far East as in northeast China. Cooperation in pharmacology will be of great significance in further improving public health work for the Soviet and Chinese people.

Magazine Cited on PRC's 40th Anniversary

OW2410142689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] In an article by (Lazov) published in KOMMUNIST magazine on the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the PRC, (Lazov) notes that the victory of the 1949 revolution ended the Chinese people's long struggle for national and social liberation. After shaking off the semicolonial shackles of imperialist countries, this populous nation took the historic road of socialist development, a choice that even hardships and setbacks could not alter.

China has achieved much success in the past 40 years. Remarkable progress has been made in the social, economic, and cultural fields. China's reputation has been enhanced in the international arena. Despite these achievements, the PRC has made serious mistakes and suffered grave setbacks in its 40-year history. The Chinese people suffered greatly as a result of the Great Leap Forward and the Great Cultural Revolution. To turn this page in their country's history, the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party, and the Chinese leadership must have enormous political courage and a pragmatic spirit.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has played a crucial role in solving China's political, social, and economic crises. China has spent the past decade conducting an in-depth examination and readjustment of its own social system. Consequently, China has developed a social system that has both democratic features as well as the ability to take up the challenges of scientific and technological revolution. China's greatest achievement has been in the economy.

The changes in some social sectors in China have given rise to contradictions. Not all problems have been solved. Some of these problems are extremely acute and serious. Before a complete and properly functioning new system is established, these phenomena may be interpreted by some as social resistance to a budding new socialist system. A great disparity between economic and political reforms has developed, making it difficult for China to effect political change.

Many people in the world are concerned about the possible impact on China's future development of the recent student demonstrations in that country, or the counterrevolutionary rebellion as it is officially termed by the Chinese leadership. Will these demonstrations affect the process of renewal and reform? Whatever the consequences, one fact is plain: China has almost exhausted all options for resolving some relatively easy and minor problems in the course of reform. China must now seek more thorough and socially significant solutions and make greater efforts on its way toward reform. The trends of reform in China are similar to those of renewal in other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. This has opened the possibility for socialist states to widen contacts and exchange experiences in building a new society and surmounting crises on a mutually beneficial basis. Such contacts and exchanges may enrich socialist theory and practice as well as the arguments about the constructive and pioneering role of socialism.

PRC Reporter Seeks Systematic Reform News

OW3110032589 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] It has been 60 years since the Soviet Union began its radio broadcasts to foreign countries. The following is in commemoration of its 60th anniversary:

Plevako, a leader of the Soviet international broadcasting service, pointed out at a press conference on the occasion of the 60th anniversary: Recently, the nature of our broadcasts has completely changed. The broadcasts have become more comprehensive and more friendly. Foreign listeners might have thought that in the past we spoke the official language and expressed the Kremlin's views. Now, listeners have the impression that our broadcasts reflect our own views. Moreover, we not only express our own views; we also do our best to report the views of political figures, journalists, scientists, and ordinary citizens on major domestic issues. We also report the views of our foreign counterparts.

Please listen to a talk by (Zhang Lean), Beijing Radio's chief correspondent in Moscow:

[Begin (Zhang) recording] The Chinese people are now greatly interested in Soviet reforms. We know that the Soviet people are also greatly interested in China's reforms. Perhaps the reforms in our two countries are different in some respects. Therefore, we might learn from each other's experience. Take economic reform for instance. I think that it is necessary for Moscow Radio to make more systematic and comprehensive reports on the major achievements and problems of Soviet economic reform, as well as on its measures to solve the problems. Although I am here and have read a great deal of materials, I still cannot clearly describe the situation of your reform in a systematic way.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Moscow Radio's foreign broadcast service, I would like to offer my warm congratulations to all comrades of Moscow Radio and wish them even greater success. In particular, I hope they will play an even greater role in publicizing and promoting the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people and the cooperative relations between the two countries. [end recording]

'Improvement' in Sino-Indian Relations Noted

OW0211150389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Report from New Delhi by station reporter (Bilychirkeye)]

[Text] The process of normalization of relations between India and China started in December last year when Indian Prime Minister Gandhi visited China. The participants in the meeting pointed out that the many improvements have shown that both New Delhi and

Beijing hope to establish a genuine good-neighborly relationship. In this respect, they have already made great achievements.

A meeting of a joint work team to mediate border issues was held in Beijing. A meeting of the cooperation committee on trade, economic, and scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries was held in New Delhi. The meeting formulated concrete measures for developing business contacts between the two countries.

Chinese Vice Premier Wu Xueqian successfully visited India recently. Observers say that the visit was conducive to improving political relations between India and China. The normalization of relations between India and China has an important international significance.

Noted diplomat (Rao), who was chairman of the meeting, said: [(Rao) is heard briefly in English, fading into Chinese translation] The world is getting closer and closer, and more and more interdependent. What happens in one corner has an influence in a different place. There is no doubt that the improvement of relations between India and China will have a favorable influence on the situation in Asia and the whole world. The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China has a similar effect. The Soviet Union, India, and China can successfully cooperate in establishing the thinking of peaceful coexistence and in their struggle for peace and international security.

(Rao) emphatically pointed out: The three big powers can play a particularly important role in consolidating peace, mutual trust, and good-neighborly relations in the Asia-Pacific Region.

Prospecting Venture With China To Be Organized

OW2410063789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Excerpts] A delegation from the Soviet Ministry of Geology paid a 2-week visit to Beijing, Tianjin, and other places in China, inspecting enterprises and oilfields and discussing professional work with Chinese experts. In an interview with our station reporter, head of the Soviet delegation, Salmanov, said that the delegation's meetings with the Chinese side were friendly and cordial and that it was optimistic of the smooth development of bilateral relations.

Salmanov said: Our delegation's purpose for visiting China is to restore the original, traditional professional relationship between the geological workers of the two countries. Our delegation met with leaders of the Chinese Ministry of Geology and inspected the oilfield in Bohaiwan and enterprises manufacturing prospecting equipment. Experts from the two countries discussed exploiting petroleum in China to expand China's oil output by 200 million metric tons by the year 2000. [Passage omitted]

Salmanov said: There is the Tarim Basin in the northwestern part of China. This a promising, oil-producing region. Here we shall carry out joint prospecting with Chinese geological workers. Geophysical prospecting and drilling will be carried out first to assess the reserves. We also discussed the possibility of prospecting for minerals in China's northern provinces.

In addition, questions of setting up joint ventures in the Soviet Union were also discussed. For example, in the eastern USSR, there are iron reserves. Because of the lack of funds and manpower, these reserves cannot be exploited in the near future. Soviet and Chinese geological workers, after considering each others' interests, have agreed to work together to solve this problem. The Soviet Union will supply China with iron ore as a reward for China taking part in prospecting for iron ore.

Salmanov said in conclusion: Agreements on bilateral cooperation will be concluded before the end of this year. Soviet and Chinese experts are now exchanging visits to map out a long-term cooperation plan.

Northeast Asia

CPSU Commission Discusses Asia Policy

LD0211201989 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2—The course of the implementation of ideas and proposals in the area of international relations, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, was discussed by a meeting of the commission of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on questions of international politics.

It was noted that these ideas and proposals have laid down the basis for contemporary Soviet Asia-Pacific doctrine, in keeping with the spirit and principles of new political thinking, meeting long-term national and state interests of the USSR and real tendencies and processes in the area.

Substantial contribution to the consolidation of peace and stability was made by complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the Asian part of the USSR on the basis of the agreement with the United States, the beginning of the reduction of Soviet forces in the eastern areas of the USSR by 200,000 men, and withdrawal of 75 per cent of the Soviet military contingent temporarily stationed in Mongolia to within the limits of the USSR territory.

The meeting discussed questions connected with the preparation of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Italy.

There was an exchange of opinions on the development of contacts between the Soviet Communist Party and social democratic parties and other left forces.

Other questions related to instructions of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and tasks of deepening the Soviet Union's cooperation with socialist, capitalist and developing countries were discussed.

General on Prospects for Soviet-Japanese Ties

OW0211133089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 30 Oct 89

[From "New Thinking and the Contemporary World" Program]

[Text] A Moscow Radio reporter has interviewed Major General (Malkerov), director of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff Press Center. We will introduce to you excerpts from the interview today. The fourth friendship exchange meeting of groups from Siberia and Hokkaido was held in Sapporo from 7 to 10 October, and Major General (Malkerov) was the first Soviet officer to attend the meeting. The meeting was held under the slogan of "Friendship, Good-neighborliness, and Cooperation in the Far East."

Here is the first question to Major General (Malkerov).

Was the military and political situation in the Asian-Pacific region taken up at the meeting?

[Begin (Malkerov) recording in Russian fading into Japanese translation] The development of friendly relations among nations and peoples in the Asian-Pacific region calls for promoting peace and stability and limiting and reducing arms in this region. Speaking at a subcommittee meeting, I pointed this out. In particular, I explained the Soviet policy of strengthening peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region and talked about changes taking place in the Soviet Union, including the Far Eastern area.

I also pointed out General Secretary Gorbachev's first proposals which he made in Vladivostok and then expanded upon in Krasnoyarsk. These proposals are still valid now. For example, one proposal concerns reducing military activities in the region, and another concerns putting contacts in various fields, including those in the military area, on the right track. It is more comforting to people to know that generals are meeting at negotiating tables rather than meeting on battlefields. When I said so at the meeting, one of the participants pointed at me and said that one Soviet general was already sitting at a negotiating table. That was what Major General (Malkerov) said.

Incidentally, General, you were the first Soviet general who had visited Japan. How were you received in Japan?

[Recording of (Malkerov) is heard in Russian fading into the Japanese translation] The fact is that a Soviet officer attended the Siberia-Hokkaido friendship exchange meeting and I think they accepted this fact in a positive manner. Through participation in such meetings, we want to confirm that the Soviet Union has taken the road toward promoting peace in the region, strengthening mutual trust, easing tension, and abolishing the danger of wars. We want to assert that these efforts are not made for the sake of propaganda but that this is the basic line of our foreign policy.

Incidentally, I joined the subcommittee on mass media at the meeting. At the subcommittee session, I pointed out to the Soviet and Japanese journalists the important issue of promoting friendly relations between various nations and peoples. We should stop regarding our opponents as enemies. We must regard each other as partners, and, moreover, as equal partners. Both Soviet and Japanese journalists stated that they must report on only what they had seen with their own eyes or what they were deeply convinced to be true.

This issue is most closely related to the so-called threat from the Soviet Union—an issue which is still mentioned. The media often maintain that the military threat from the Soviet Union still exists despite the fact the media itself is not convinced of it. Actually, the so-called military threat from the Soviet Union did not, does not, and will not exist.

We asked Major General (Malkerov) about his impressions of Japan, the current status of, and future prospects for Soviet-Japanese relations.

[Recording can be heard of (Malkerov) in Russian fading into Japanese translation] It was my first visit to Japan but I felt that Japan is a country worthy of our thorough study. Moreover, I feel that we should not only study Japan but should also adopt from it whatever is good for us. When I say Japan, I mean all of Japan and its culture. As for Soviet-Japanese relations, I agree with General Secretary Gorbachev who once stated that the current situation does not comply with what our two nations could have possibly done. However, I feel that the situation is taking a turn for the better now. The Japanese people not only expect, but are also striving for, improved relations between our two nations. From the remarks made by various Japanese people, I feel that they are waiting for 1991 when General Secretary Gorbachev, as has already been announced, will pay a visit to Japan. Japanese public opinion expects that his visit will basically improve Japan's relations with the Soviet Union.

After making these remarks, Major General (Malkerov) replied as follows to the question of what he thought of the possibility of military exchanges:

It is, of course, necessary for the Soviet Union and Japan to promote relations in various fields. For this purpose, our two nations must promote bilateral military relations so that mutual trust can be consolidated and deepened. In carrying out this process—the exchanges that are currently being promoted—between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and other Western nations on the other can be taken as a good model. The more extensively military exchanges are promoted, the earlier such global tasks as the reduction of arms and the abolition of the threat of war for our generation and the next generations can be achieved.

Japan's Role as Military Power Assessed

OW0211145489 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Commentary by Military Affairs Observer Kalinin]

[Text] The Self-Defense Forces [SDF] of Japan marks its founding today, 1 November. In this connection, Radio Moscow Military Affairs Observer Kalinin states as follows:

It is precisely 35 years today since the SDF was founded. In marking the occasion, a parade was held at Asakadai in Saitama Prefecture last Sunday. Speaking at this ceremony, Prime Minister Kaifu stated that in order to secure the appropriate defense level, it would be necessary for Japan to further promote a defense buildup. Consequently, a question arises as to whether or not this policy that has been followed for 35 years will turn Japan into a military power. In general, official Japanese sources respond negatively to this question. As noted in a recent report published in IZVESTIYA, some people in the Soviet Union share this view. However, let us examine the actual facts.

First, we should not be misguided by the fact that the SDF is composed of a small number of personnel. This small number is complemented by the fact that there are more than two officers for every regular SDF member. In other words, with this ratio, 800,000 to 900,000 troops can easily be organized within a very short period of time. Some estimates report that even 1.5 million troops can easily be organized. Concerning equipment, the Air Self-Defense Force of Japan, for example, possesses the same number of fighters as the United States maintains for the purpose of defending the continental United States. The number of escort ships, or destroyers, belonging to the Maritime Self-Defense Force [MSDF] is more than twice that of the destroyers under the U.S. 7th Fleet. Allow me to point out that the 7th Fleet's operational sphere covers not only the western Pacific, but also the whole area of the Indian Ocean. Based on such figures indicating the SDF's combat capabilities and on other figures, a number of experts hold that Japan has already joined the group of 10 major military nations.

Let us look at Japan's military budget. Since the SDF was founded, defense spending has increased 27 times. It is expected that the defense budget for the next fiscal year will further increase by 6.35 percent. In the growth rate of military spending, Japan ranks first among the nations of the world. In the amount of military spending, Japan now ranks second, following the United States. As pointed out by ASAHI SHIMBUN last January, Japan's military spending has already reached a level at which there is sufficient reason to term Japan a military power.

I would like to mention another situation. It has been stated on many occasions that the concept of self-defense covers only the Japanese archipelago. However, the situation has changed now. For example, a decision has been made on the MSDF's defense of the sealanes within the 1,000-mile zone adjoining Japan. Last week, Defense Agency Director General Matsumoto stated at the Lower House Budget Committee session that the time has come for Japan to study the issue of dispatching SDF members to foreign countries. All these facts indicate that the process of Japan's buildup of its military capabilities has not only exceeded what is needed for defense, but now imposes an increasing influence on the world's military situation.

In answering the question as to whether or not Japan will become a military power, I would like to state that Japan has already become such. Moreover, when all factors are taken into account, Japan does not intend to give up its policy of promoting a military buildup. Japan has been promoting this policy at a time when the Soviet Union has unilaterally reduced its national defense expenditures and military production. The USSR has also reduced by a large margin the size of its troops, including those in the Far East. Both China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have reduced the number of their troops. In this way, practical preconditions have been created for downgrading by a large margin the level of regional military confrontation.

Yakovlev Receives Japanese Ambassador

LD0211192589 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Alexandedr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, today received the Japanese ambassador to the USSR, Toshiaki Muto, at his request.

They discussed the present state and future of Soviet-Japanese relations, the situation in the Asia-Pacific region within the context of basic trends of the present-day world politics and other issues of mutual interest.

The conversation was held in a friendly, open atmosphere.

Sakharov in Japan, Says Socialism Should Start Over

OW3110132789 Tokyo KYODO in English 1144 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Sapporo, Oct. 31 KYODO—Soviet human rights activist Andrey Sakharov, rebutting arguments made by Soviet leaders to justify socialism, said here Tuesday that the basic idea of denying private ownership is wrong.

The 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner also said that Soviet socialism should be "restarted" from its initial stage, the Russian Revolution.

Sakharov made the remarks at the second Nobel Laureates forum, held which moved to the northern Japan city of Sapporo after an earlier session in Tokyo.

The 68-year-old physicist reiterated his political stance that a multiparty system should be introduced in his country to establish modern democracy.

Another speaker, Leon Cooper, an American physicist who won the the 1972 Nobel Physics Prize for the theory of superconductivity, blamed both Japan and the United States for the huge U.S. trade deficit with Japan.

Cooper urged the two governments to do what should be done in each country in order to resolve the trade problem.

Army's Lizichev Meets Mongolian Counterpart

PM0211163189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Arrival"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers of the Mongolian People's Army headed by Major General S. Banchindorj, chief of the Mongolian People's Army Political Directorate, arrived in the Soviet Union 30 October at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was met at the airport by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and by other senior political workers.

The welcoming party included Major General G. Dugersuren, military at the Mongolian Embassy in the USSR.

Rogachev Received by Mongolia's Batmonh

LD0111211489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 1 Nov (TASS)—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee, chairman of the People's Great Hural of the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic], today received I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy Foreign Minister, who is here on a working visit.

During a conversation which took place in an atmosphere of traditional friendship and complete mutual understanding, some topical aspects of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation and several key international problems were discussed. There was an exchange of information on the development of goodneighborly relations between the MPR, the USSR, and the Chinese People's Republic. The positive significance of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese and Mongolian-Chinese relations for improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, and the willingness of both countries to help strengthen trust and international cooperation in this part of the globe was confirmed.

Taking part in the conversation was the USSR ambassador to the MPR, V.I. Sitnikov, and the MPR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, D. Endon.

Today there were also meetings between I.A. Rogachev, ambassadors of socialist countries in Ulaanbaatar, and staffers of the USSR Embassy in the MPR.

Ulaanbaatar News Conference on Troop Withdrawal

LD0211141489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Excerpt] A news conference has taken place in Ulaanbaatar. The results of the second and latest stage of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the territory of Mongolia was discussed. Listen to what our correspondent Vladimir Korolev has to say in this connection:

[Korolev] I remind you that Soviet soldiers were here at the request of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic. At that time the presence was dictated by the tense situation in the region. Now the Soviet troops are returning to the homeland. General Leonid Sergeyevich Mayorov, their commander, told journalists that the Soviet troop withdrawal is being accompanied by the handing over to the Mongolian side of its property. This means small military towns with barracks, housing, and cultural and medical establishments, buildings intended to serve as shops and for everyday services, bakeries, etc. This large economy is being left here selflessly and will probably turn out to be useful to the Mongolian population in everyday life and work.

It was stressed at the news conference that the evacuation of the Soviet military contingent from Mongolia is proceeding strictly according to schedule. The third stage will begin on 15 May next year and will end by August. Soviet troops are leaving Mongolia. It is not essential for them to be here now. Soviet-Chinese relations have become normal. The same thing has taken place between Mongolia and China, and this in turn can only have a positive effect on the entire situation in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region. [passage omitted]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Thai Premier's Talks Aid Cambodia Settlement

PM0211144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Second Edition p5

[Own correspondent Valerian Skvortsov commentary: "Another Step Forward"]

[Text] Bangkok, 31 Oct—Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan has returned to Bangkok from a 3-day visit to Beijing, where he held intensive talks with the PRC leadership.

Broad questions of bilateral Thai-Chinese relations were discussed at Chatchai Chunhawan's meetings with his Chinese counterpart, then with the president of the PRC, the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and, in conclusion, with Deng Xiaoping. Nevertheless, as expected, the main item on the agenda of the visit was the discussion of the Cambodian problem.

From the prime minister's account of his visit to his country's public it is clear that he has brought back two accords of considerable importance in his diplomatic portfolio. Briefly, both quite clearly state support from Beijing for the latest peace initiatives proposed by Chatchai Chunhawan, who is pursuing his policy of "turning Indochina from a battlefield into a trade zone" with energy and tactical skill.

The first accord is concerned with creating an international mechanism to establish the true situation inside Cambodia taking account of the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese voluntary contingent. The second accord concerns the need to ensure that there are no interruptions in the peace settlement process begun during two informal meetings of the interested Khmer parties in Jakarta and continued at the Paris international conference.

The significance of these accords becomes clear if you recall that the commanders of the three opposition groups' armed formations are now attempting to intensify combat operations along the Cambodian border and have announced their plans to broaden these operations during the forthcoming dry season. This escalation is fraught with the danger of causing a breakdown in the settlement process.

The art of diplomacy in Asia has its own nuances. No, Chatchai Chunhawan told journalists, he had not raised the question in Beijing of terminating military aid to one of the three opposition groupings. That is an internal matter of the PRC. But let us add for our part that he did in fact try to reach an accord on precisely that point, while avoiding the sharp corners of a very delicate problem: the need to ensure that all those involved in the 10-year conflict and the partners in the talks "save face."

A commentator for the newspaper THE BANGKOK POST has cautiously described Chatchai Chunhawan's actions as "advice from a personal friend of China prompted by good intentions." Indeed, the prime minister holds the public post of chairman of the Thai-Chinese Friendship Association and maintains extensive personal ties with the PRC. At the same time, he advocates first a partial and then a complete curtailment of outside military aid to all involved in the conflict in Cambodia.

Continuing his persistent efforts in this direction, the head of cabinet has said that on 12 November he intends to go to Washington to discuss aspects of a Cambodian settlement. Citing Indonesian President Suharto, Chatchai Chunhawan also told press representatives that a new meeting of representatives of all the Cambodian sides, and also a number of interested countries, could possibly be convened in the future in Jakarta. This dialogue will be an informal continuation of the Paris international conference. In all probability the discussion of preliminary details will take place in Bangkok. Perhaps not with the speed that one would have liked, but the process of reaching a settlement in Cambodia is making headway nevertheless. But it is having to struggle to make this headway at present. It is believed in Southeast Asia that Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan's visit to Beijing and the talks held there will be of tangible assistance in this.

Developments in Cambodia Reviewed

PM0211151589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Morning Edition p5

[Own correspondent B. Vinogradov commentary: "Guns Speaking Again..."]

[Text] Phnom Penh—The last days of October have drawn the attention of the foreign press to events surrounding Cambodia, but on this occasion the subject is not the political activity of the various sides involved but military information reports. Pailin, well known in Southeast Asia as "the diamonds and sapphires capital," is increasingly often the main population center referred to in news agencies' information telegrams.

This little town in Cambodian territory, lying 13 km from the border with Thailand, is allegedly in the hands of Pol Pot's men, who captured it in a concentrated attack and continue to hold it now.

Visiting the Cambodian Defense Ministry, I asked them to clarify the situation and comment on a radio report from Bangkok, which was the first to relay the news of the "fall of Pailin." It is indeed true, ministry personnel told me, that about a week ago Pol Pot's men launched a powerful offensive on this population center and entered it. The enemy incurred heavy losses and was stopped beyond the Pailin Valley. Units of the Cambodian People's Armed Forces still hold key vantage points in this region and are prepared for a counteroffensive. This event should be regarded as a temporary tactical success by the enemy, but on a strategic level Pailin does not have such important significance.

It must be said that the most zealous here are Pol Pot's men, who have declared Pailin the "center of Khmer resistance" and offered it to Sihanouk as the place of residence for the "coalition government of democratic Kampuchea." However, Sihanouk is in no hurry to accept this "gift," evidently realizing that anything can happen in a war that has only just begun.

In general terms, the opposition's demands amount to the participation of Pol Pot's followers in a settlement as equal participants alongside the other parties. In other words, it is demanding that they be given "one-fourth of power and influence" in a provisional quadripartite government immediately after the appropriate accord has been reached. Phnom Penh objects to this approach, reasonably pointing out the danger of a repetition of the genocide if Pol Pot's followers are allowed to return to Cambodia unimpeded.

The opposition makes no secret of its plans to seize some regions in the west of the country and is now vigorously launching combat operations in Battambang Province and some others. All forces are being drafted into the operations, and the emphasis is on seizing key points along the Cambodian-Thai border. However, looking ahead, skilled observers and military specialists in Thailand and other countries say that they cannot foresee any great victories for the opposition groupings in this campaign and that they certainly cannot hope for a total victory. The task, they point out, is to find a new compromise and achieve a cease-fire now, without waiting for the confrontation to become irreversible.

The need to resume the dialogue is being stated by many, but at present it is not clear where, when, and at what level its participants will be able to meet. Thailand and the other ASEAN countries are working vigorously to prepare another informal meeting in Jakarta. Thai Prime Minister C. Chunhawan, who was recently in Beijing, secured China's agreement that it, too, will take part in the forthcoming meeting. It is proposed to urgently discuss the procedure for setting up an international monitoring mechanism, the conditions for a cease-fire, and the problem of holding free general elections in Cambodia. Phnom Penh's position in this matter is clear: It is in favor of international monitoring with UN participation, the establishment of a leadership council as organ of authority for the transitional period, and the organization of general elections. But there is one detail: The council must be established on a bilateral basis, which, in simple terms, can be rendered by the formula "Hun Sen—Sihanouk," with representation divided equally. In that case, Sihanouk could be the leader of the tripartite opposition, thereby observing the "quadripartite principle."

Laos' Kaysone Phomvihan's Visit to PRC Viewed

BK0211051989 Moscow in Lao to Laos
1030 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Article by station observer Oleg Alekseyev]

[Text] Kaysone Phomvihan was accorded a warm welcome by the Chinese leadership. He visited Beijing and Shanghai and held talks with the leaders. As mentioned in the joint statement, during the talks the two sides discussed various ways to help resolve the Cambodian conflict and other problems. It is only natural that the talks should also have covered relations between Laos and China, which have not been close or very warm over the past 10 years. Mutual cooperation has been limited and even armed clashes were reported along the border.

The Lao press has suggested that the unusual era of tension between the two countries has come to an end. It is a matter of great satisfaction to every party concerned that this unfortunate era is now a matter of history.

After returning from China, Kaysone Phomvihan termed his visit a success He expressed confidence that a new phase in relations between the two countries has now begun. He also said that Lao-Chinese relations have been completely normalized both at the party and government levels.

As stated during the talks in Beijing, an improvement in relations between the two countries will serve the interests of the two governments and continue to strengthen the position of socialism in Asia. At the same time, it will also help create an atmosphere of mutual trust and good neighborliness among the countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

Various documents were also signed during the visit, including an agreement on the border demarcation, an agreement on consular affairs, and various projects on the cooperation in the economic, trade, and cultural fields.

(?Before) the visit took place, Chinese Premier Li Peng said that the two sides agreed that the normalization of their mutual relations would become a historic event.

Lao Parliament Delegation Ends Moscow Visit

PM0211162789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Nov 89 Second Edition p4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 1 November a delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic led by T. Thammavong, deputy speaker of the Lao Supreme People's Assembly, left Moscow. The guests have been in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Near East & South Asia

Katushev Holds Talks With Iranian Ministers

LD0211121589 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT
2 Nov 89

[Text] Teheran November 2 TASS—Konstantin Katushev, minister for foreign economic relations of the USSR, currently on a visit in the Islamic Republic of Iran, had the first round of negotiations with Mohsen Nurbakhsh, the Iranian minister of Economic Affairs and Finance.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the development of Soviet-Iranian economic relations and joint construction of economic objectives in Iran.

Agreement was reached to hold the 12th meeting of the standing Soviet-Iranian Commission for Economic Cooperation in Teheran this December.

The Soviet minister also met Akbar Torkan, the Iranian minister of defence.

Commentary on Visit, Ties

TA0211204489 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary within "The World Today" feature"]

[Text] Dear listeners: Soviet Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev arrived in Tehran with the aim of holding talks about economic issues. During this visit he met with Iran's Minister of Economy and Finance Mohsen Nurbakhsh and Defense Minister 'Ali Akbar Torkan. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes in this connection:

In the course of his visit to the Soviet Union, Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that he almost felt at home in Moscow. It can be said that these remarks very (?objectively) portray the current level of Soviet-Iranian relations. There is no doubt that at present cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran is escalating and is entering into the practical stage.

The visit by the Soviet minister of foreign economic relations to Tehran is one of the most important phases of implementing the large-scale program of commercial, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation to the year 2000 which a few months ago was signed in Moscow. Of course, Soviet-Iranian rapprochement, which is taking place right before our own eyes, is not accidental. Every political approach is not only determined by the inclination of leaders but also has foreign and domestic reasons. For this reason, the endeavor for Soviet-Iranian rapprochement seems very logical. A [word indistinct] relationship is simply not in the interest of both sides. This is not responsive to their main national and economic interests.

Although only 4 months have passed since the establishment of full normal relations between (?Iran and the Soviet Union), some very considerable results have been achieved. For example, Konstantin Katushev's visit to Iran envisages the signing of a Soviet-Iranian agreement on the purchase of Iranian natural gas and the export of Soviet technical equipment for the construction of industrial enterprises in the Islamic Republic. It is expected that the transfer of natural gas from Iran to the Soviet Union will resume in March 1990, and will reach 3 million cubic meters annually. Moreover, the two sides have agreed that the 12th session of the Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation committee will be held in Tehran this December. Reports indicate that apparently prospects of expansion of direct economic relations between Iranian and Soviet enterprises will be discussed in this committee's session. Among other things, some time ago experts of the two countries (?reviewed ways) to explore and operate the Caspian Sea oil resources. According to Petroleum Minister Aqazadeh, the prospects for this relationship are good, and soon very important results will be realized from these meetings.

In short, Iran and the Soviet Union have a strong capability for the expansion of economic cooperation. [words indistinct] This cooperation will bring about real financial benefits for Iran and will greatly enhance Iran's potential in the country's economic reconstruction and revival. One can see in the visit by the Soviet minister to Tehran, which was undertaken with the aim of resolving specific issues, serious prospects for mutually beneficial Soviet-Iranian cooperation. The Soviet Union is ready for fruitful and constructive talks as well as for a considerable expansion of economic relations. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has said: Iran for us is a desirable trading partner.

Iranian Gas To Transit USSR for Europe

LD0211200589 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] In the continuing talks between the economic delegations of the USSR and the Islamic Republic of Iran which were held today, the issue of Iranian natural gas transit via Soviet territory to the European countries, was discussed and both countries agreed on the subject.

According to a Central News Unit report, the discussions about fixing the volume, timing, and other conditions for the transit of the Iranian gas via Soviet territory, will begin between the relevant organizations' experts from the two countries, by the end of the current Christian year at the latest.

Anniversary of U.S. Embassy Occupation in Iran

NC0211180189 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Interview with Radio Moscow analyst Aleksandr Batyev by unidentified announcer—recorded; Batyev speaks in Russian fading into Persian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear listeners, 4 November marks the 10th anniversary of the Iranian students' occupation of the American Embassy in Tehran and their taking of the embassy's personnel as hostages.

[Batyev] Our listeners are well acquainted with the complicated incidents surrounding the occupation of the American Embassy. These incidents and their consequences are still well remembered and continue to have an impact today. For example, the United States refuses to release billions of dollars of Iranian assets in American banks, funds which would be very helpful in Iran's current efforts to revive its economy. The unfreezing of the assets is linked with the release of the American hostages in Lebanon held by local extremist local organizations.

I think that the incidents of the past decade revealed a poor standard of behavior. The hostage-taking issue boomeranged and rebounded on Iran itself since a number of Iranian citizens were taken hostage in Lebanon. Moreover, I think that the hostages issue could deteriorate even more. Recently the U.S. Department of

Justice granted the FBI permission to arrest persons who, in the opinion of the United States, have violated U.S. laws in various countries. A report from Tehran indicates that the Majlis responded by ratifying a bill giving Iranian officials the right to arrest American citizens in other countries.

[Announcer] This indicates extremely unfavorable prospects for the future. Is there a way out?

[Batyev] I think that each country should determine its approach to hostage taking and to organizations that resort to such acts. In other words, the world must act the way it did 10 years ago when the American Embassy was occupied and its employees held hostage. The incidents that took place at that time were, in a sense, interpreted as a blatant violation of fundamental international norms and regulations. Unfortunately, while the United States itself took this position, it has not observed its own principles. The permission granted to the FBI to take hostages proves this point, even though the United States claims that it was forced to take this step because Iran has not changed its position on hostage taking. The Islamic Republic's Ministry of Culture and Education plans to hold mass gatherings on the eve of the 4 November incidents' anniversary to exalt the significance of the Iranian students' occupation of the embassy.

[Announcer] In other words, in assessing the events of the past, we see that Iran's stand remains unchanged.

[Batyev] At least in appearance. But I cannot say anything about the future because profound processes are under way in Iran and something should be done to bring Iran out of its voluntary isolation. The process of improving relations among nations will certainly lead to a change in former positions so that the past will not inflict any pressures on the process of moving toward the future. Finally, Iran's President, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, said in his recent news conference that his country regards the abduction of people as an inhuman act and opposes it.

Soviet Appeal to Release POW's Unheeded

LD2610124989 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Islamabad October 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Semenenko:

A Soviet committee's appeals to the Afghan rebels to release Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan are not being heeded. Activists told a news conference here today.

A delegation of the "Nadezhda" (Hope) People's Committee for the release of Soviet POW in Afghanistan has been in Pakistan for almost two months now to secure the release of Soviet prisoners.

This is the committee's second delegation to visit Pakistan in the past five months, Nadezhda Chairman I. Andronov said. The "people's diplomats" established contacts and held a series of meetings in Peshawar with representatives of the Afghan rebel "transitional government".

"Our appeals for humaneness towards Soviet prisoners of war and Afghan rebels in prisons of Afghanistan have not been heeded by rebel leaders," he said.

"We tried to meet all mujahidin requests. The lists submitted by them were considered in Kabul, and the Afghan Government agreed to release about 50 rebels, including citizens of some Arab states, in exchange for a small group of Soviet prisoners of war," he said.

"Besides, as a gesture of good will, Nadezhda representatives with the government's consent are ready to assist in bringing back home 25 Pakistani citizens now in detention in Afghanistan for various crimes, mainly for espionage. But when it was time to act rebel leaders again resorted to procrastination. We, on our part, have done all we could. The rebels are now expected to have their say".

Photographs of Soviet soldiers in captivity and letters from relatives were displayed. Nadezhda delegates said that the rebels had not even allowed them to visit prisoners of war, and categorically refused to disclose their names. They did not accept letters addressed to prisoners of war.

Lists with the names of rebels in Afghan prisons, whom the Kabul relatives are ready to exchange for a group of Soviet officers and men, were handed to the press. Journalists were given the names of Pakistani citizens, their addresses, collective and personal letters requesting their government to do the utmost towards their release.

The delegation expressed gratitude to the Pakistani Government and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto personally for assistance in establishing contacts with rebel leaders.

Afghan Party Secretary on Plenum Proceedings

PM0211121889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Pecherskiy report on interview in Kabul with N. Kawiani, Politburo member and secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee: "Situation Remains Complex"—date of interview not stated]

[Text] Kabul, October—A plenum of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee, held in Kabul recently, examined the party's urgent tasks in the cause of achieving peace in the conditions of the autonomous defense of the country. Najmuddin Kawiani, Politburo member and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, commented on the main problems discussed, in a conversation with PRAVDA's correspondent.

During the plenum, N. Kawiani said, the path the party has traveled in the year since the last plenum was analyzed. The main avenues for future activity by the PDPA were defined. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are complying strictly with the Geneva agreements. We hoped that the other side, the United States and Pakistan, would adopt a path of fulfilling these accords, and peace in the country would be assured. But unfortunately the opposite happened. The United States and certain Western countries, on the eve of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, stepped up the psychological warfare against Afghanistan in order to overthrow the country's legitimate government and put a so-called "transitional government" in power. The opposition proposed to act in three main directions: surprise intervention, economic blockade of the country's main centers, and subversive actions inside the armed forces. The PDPA and the people's army prevented the implementation of these plans.

At present it can be said confidently, N. Kawiani went on, that after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan the opposition does not have the slightest pretext for continuing the so-called "holy war." Every day the disagreements within its ranks increase. But the military-political situation in the country remains complex. And our party's strength is being tested on the battlefield. At the same time the Afghan people's self-awareness is growing.

What, in our view, is the distribution of forces in the opposition? It can be divided into three groups: There are the extremists and fundamentalists within the "Alliance of Seven," who want to continue the war. There are the forces that support the "Alliance of Eight," who show interest in a political solution to the Afghan problem. And there are groupings in Afghanistan that doubt the need to continue the war, but show disagreement with the legitimate authorities in the hope of receiving aid from Pakistan; and finally, there are groupings that are not conducting military operations, but are ensuring security in their own regions. Basically, three of these four groups are in favor of a peaceful settlement [paragraph as published].

The plenum stressed the special role of field commanders in creating a coalition administration and establishing peace in the country. The party devotes constant attention to satisfying their most urgent needs. This includes creating a special fund to supply field commanders with essential goods, organizing schooling and medical services to the population, repairing roads, and restoring mosques.

The continuing aggression against our country, N. Kawiani said, along with economic sabotage and poor organization of economic management, mean that the reserves that exist in the country are being utilized only poorly. The republic government, with the Soviet Union's help, is creating food stocks for the winter period centrally and locally. Particular attention is devoted to the production of crop farming and livestock products, and the state is encouraging the private sector to work in this sphere. The question of making certain state enterprises available for leasing was also raised at the plenum. There was a discussion of the significance and role of cooperatives and of bringing in foreign capital to create facilities that will give a rapid return while maintaining, of course, broad economic ties with the USSR and the socialist countries.

Favorable conditions are now emerging in the country for continuing economic cooperation, particularly at faciltiies created with the USSR's help. The Republic of Afghanistan will continue to export its traditional goods to the Soviet Union. Exports of natural gas to the USSR, halted a year ago, could be continued, as well as the construction of the Hayraton-Mazar-e Sharif railroad.

New phenomena are now appearing in the world, especially on the Asian continent—the smoothing out of relations between the USSR and the PRC and the USSR and Iran, the ending of the Iran-Iraq war, the improvement in relations between China and India. All these factors create favorable preconditions for an Afghan settlement, too.

Leaders Greet Algerian Revolution Anniversary

PM0211162589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leadership bodies' greetings to Algerian leaders]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and chairman of the National Liberation Front
To His Excellency Mr Rabah Bitat, chairman of the Algerian People's National Assembly
To His Excellency Mr Mouloud Hamrouche, head of the Algerian Government

On the occasion of Algeria's national holiday—the 35th anniversary of the revolution—we send you and the entire friendly Algerian people our cordial congratulations.

Algeria, which won freedom and independence at the price of incredible sacrifices by its people, occupies a worthy place in the world community and is making a constructive contribution to efforts aimed at strengthening peace and security, untangling knots of regional conflicts, and affirming the principles of equality and justice in interstate contacts.

Expressing satisfaction at the high level of comprehensive Soviet-Algerian cooperation, we reaffirm our adherence to the cause of further deepening and expanding cooperation between our countries in the world arena in the name of democratizing and humanizing international relations, disarmament and development, and solving today's other burning problems.

We wish you health and happiness, and we wish the Algerian people success and prosperity.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

USSR Council of Ministers

Laverov Attends Embassy Reception

PM0211155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] M. Yala, Algerian ambassador to the USSR, held a reception 31 October to mark a national holiday—Algerian Revolution Day.

It was attended by R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

Moroccan Party Officials Visit USSR

PM0211164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee I. Alaoui and T. Khiyari [name as published], members of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism Central Committee Politburo, who became acquainted with perestroyka's progress in the USSR and with the CPSU's activity in modern conditions, were in Moscow 25 through 31 October.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Government Treatment of ANC Criticized

MB3110095789 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary from the "South Africa Today" program; read by announcer]

[Text] Radio Moscow is celebrating its 60th anniversary. It broadcasts in 77 languages, including Zulu from 15 April 1964, and Afrikaans from 11 April 1986. Our broadcasts in English started long ago. In today's commentary, I decided to part with tradition and not dwell on the latest developments in South Africa, but to speak about our contact with you.

During anniversaries, it is good to speak about pleasantries and forgo criticisms. I for one am not going to maintain that on hearing the call signal of Moscow Radio, you immediately toss aside everything and attentively follow our programs. In my memory, as the person in charge of this section, I only remember one single letter that was filled with nothing but compliments. More people criticize us. However, I cannot understand why our listener chose as his mouthpiece the newspaper DIE BURGER.

On 12 November 1987, Mr Hendrik of Pretoria wrote: Radio Moscow is not well known because of its nonobjective broadcasts on home and foreign matters. On 13 January 1988, another listener, again using DIE BURGER—in this case, I think, a listener from the South African Army intelligence—accused Radio Moscow of spreading panic rumors, although the facts set out in our commentary about the dangerous illnesses emanating from the Center of Military Space and Biology in Transvaal had been confirmed, but somehow were not reported in the newspaper DIE BURGER. But that is on the conscience of the so-called listeners of Radio Moscow from DIE BURGER.

I will not hide the fact that Mr Hendrik of Pretoria was correct when he ironically said that our station was not always objective. Yes, we spoke about the economic instability of South Africa and did not know that people from neighboring countries go there to earn their living. Before, we saw a lot through rose-colored glasses—not only about ourselves, but about those with whom we sympathize. There is not always enough bravery. I remember how many arguments were caused by the letter from South Africa signed by Vasiliy the Greek. Although not all in the letter was justified, it was somewhat unusual to come across the criticism about oneself, to say that the Soviet Union is a closed country and that statistics are the servants of the government. Despite all fear and risk, we all the same acquainted our audience of millions with what Vasiliy the Greek had written, and up to now we are still waiting for him to reply us. Taking into consideration that he does not exist, one can come to a certain conclusion concerning the openness of South Africa.

Now, as has been noted by our listeners in South Africa, the tone of Radio Moscow broadcasts is changing, compared to the past decades. The reason does not come from the fact that one historical day we journalists suddenly became brave. It is because of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. We are trying to speak about it in our broadcasts, but perhaps there is not always enough time to speak about the events in our own country. You have probably noted that we have a more objective approach to the highlighting of events in South Africa. We have changed our wording. We believe that there are not that many racists in your country, and that not all Africans are models of good behavior. The results of these conclusions are our meetings. Our correspondents visit South Africa, and South African experts come to the Soviet Union. This did not bring about an increase in the famous Transvaal rainstorms, or lead to another deluge.

But I and my colleagues up to this time cannot understand how, in the time when a common language has been found between countries with different social systems, it is not possible for the citizens of one country to find one common language so as to discuss its urgent problems and just find a place to meet beyond the borders of South Africa. It seems if the South African administration and President Frederik de Klerk believe so much that they are right, and that they are supported in this by the whites in the country, why shouldn't they try out this not so dangerous experiment? Why shouldn't they give the African National Congress and other liberation organizations a chance to speak? I believe that the realistic approach to the basic constitutional problem would not become a supernatural one for the political life in South Africa.

But that is another question, another puzzle which we, on the strength of our information, will try to unravel in our broadcasts. I hope that our listeners will assist us in this. Our conversations with them have been the main part of our work in all of the 60 years of Radio Moscow.

Commentator Views Kenyan Mau Mau Rebellion

EA2310161489 Moscow International Service in Swahili 1730 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Commentary by Dr Andrey Pegoshev, USSR specialist in African history, on the occasion of Kenyatta Day]

[Excerpt] In Kenyan history and in the hearts of generations in Kenya, this day is automatically linked to the events of 1952, which are now regarded as history. However, it was then that a state of emergency was declared, following a great armed rebellion against the colonialists known as the Mau Mau. On that day, 20 October, the colonialist rulers arrested hundreds of people, among whom were renowned African leaders, such as Jomo Kenyatta, Kagia, Kubai, and others.

This meant failure for workers' unions and African associations. In special prison camps and prisons established for this purpose, dozens of Africans who supported the movement fighting for land and freedom were incarcerated. The rebellion which was launched was a response to avenge this great cruelty. All over the country emerged guerrilla units, which subsequently united to form an army for land and freedom which became very famous, and for a long time it confronted the cruel units which had been formed to combat the fighters. It was at the end of 1956 that the UK was able to extinguish the rebellion by capitalizing on its huge military and technical capability.

After the defeat of the Mau Mau, the colonialist economy and political standing suffered not only in Kenya but in the whole of the African Continent. The armed rebellion was one of the first well-organized attempts to crush British colonialism in Africa. The rebellion encouraged other liberation movements in other nations on that continent. For example, in Zanzibar, Mau Mau experience was applied to prepare the overthrow of capitalists and colonialists in 1964. This was the greatest rebellion in all the colonies of Britain in Africa, and one which forced it to change its policy somewhat during the rebellion. In Kenya constitutional changes were made to enable that country to gain its independence in 1963. [passage omitted]

East Europe

USSR-GDR Mixed Commission Meets in Berlin

LD0111235989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1758 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin, 1 Nov (TASS)—There was a session of the USSR-GDR mixed commission in Berlin today. Tasks of cooperation in the sphere of water management, environmental conservancy and transport were examined at the sitting, as were questions connected with the presence of Soviet troops on GDR territory.

It was the turn of V.I. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, to take the chair. H. Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister of the GDR, headed the GDR side.

Poland Faces 'Dilemma' Over South Korea Ties

PM0211161189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 p 5

[Own correspondent V. Shutkevich dispatch under the rubric "We Report the Details": "New Posting for Ambassadors"]

[Text] Warsaw—"Do you know this direction—North-South?" one tourist was asking the other in puzzlement, looking at a spinning compass needle. This cartoon recently appeared in KURIER POLSKI. The same question is of serious concern to Polish diplomacy on the Korean Peninsula. Since the beginning of the year Poland has established relations at the level of trade missions with South Korea. Officials in Seoul have repeatedly hinted that they are prepared to establish full diplomatic relations with Warsaw. However, GAZETA WYBORCZA writes, in order to make this decision the Polish Government will have to carefully weigh up all the "pros" and "cons." The main argument in favor is the opportunity for closer economic cooperation with South Korea, which has become one of the most industrially developed countries in the region in the past decade. The main argument against is the fear that an exchange of ambassadors with it would almost certainly trigger a negative reaction in North Korea, with which Poland also maintains economic ties. The complexity of this dilemma is probably explained by the fact that the preparations to find a solution have been carried out without extensive publicity. It was announced Monday that J. Majewski, Polish deputy foreign minister, had left on a visit to Tokyo, although Japanese journalists claimed that his ultimate destination was South Korea. The same day J. Kaczurba, deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, flew directly to South Korea. Finally, a report arrived Wednesday that an agreement had been reached in Seoul.

With regard to the question of normalizing relations with South Korea, S. Staniszewski, Polish Foreign Ministry press relations spokesman, noted that the de-ideologization of foreign policy is a new element in the

T. Mazowiecki government's activities. Last Saturday a closed session of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission also advocated the speediest restoration of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel. We recall that Hungary was the first socialist country to exchange ambassadors with South Korea and Israel.

Sejm Discussion of Indexation, War Reparations

PM0211154789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Report by TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin: "Questions in the Sejm"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Oct—Following a tumultuous debate, marked by major polarization of opinion, the Sejm adopted, on Monday, the draft amendments to the law on indexation of pay, which affects millions of ordinary people. The principle of indexation envisages automatically increasing working people's remuneration in relation to the rise in the prices index, which is intended to mitigate the consequences of mounting inflation and a rising cost of living.

The draft, which was adopted by a majority, envisages that indexation-based funds will only be paid if the rate at which pay increases at enterprises does not exceed the growth of retail prices. Moreover, enterprises will pay heavy fines if their above-normative payments exceed the level set by the government.

Government representatives did not conceal the fact that the present model of indexation is intended primarily to ensure a balanced state budget, which is already nearly 5 trillion zloty in deficit, and that working people should not expect a better living standard in the immediate future. Polish Deputy Industry Minister Jozef Lochnowski admitted in the Sejm that over 90 percent of working people at state enterprises will not receive a single zloty in compensation.

But on this occasion observers focused attention not on the ups and downs of the adoption of amendments to the law on indexation, but on the concluding part of the session, which is traditionally the time for deputies' questions. The "Solidarity" deputies raised the question of paying Poland compensation for damage caused during World War II.

Polish Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski gave the official explanation, claiming that the process whereby Poland obtained compensation from Germany after the war was "very unfavorable from the outset," since the Soviet Union undertook to meet Polish demands for compensation out of its own share of the reparations. According to him, this solution was highly unfavorable as far as Poland was concerned, because it did not give it the chance to issue its own demands to Germany, which was occupied by the allies at the time.

The minister questioned whether Poland had received its due share of the reparations. From this sum, K. Skubiszewski said, one "has to deduct the value of the Polish coal which was being delivered to the USSR at the time, at prices which were then one-tenth of world prices." At the same time, the minister totally ignored numerous cases of all-round Soviet assistance to Poland during Poland's 45-year existence. Above all, in the country's most difficult period, after the war, when a good part of the Soviet aid was given free.

K. Skubiszewski supported the speech by "Solidarity" deputy W. Kowalski, who had demanded material compensation from the USSR for Poles who had "suffered as a result of the Stalinist system" in the war years. He gave assurances that the government would take steps in that sphere. The minister called the reunification of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia the "occupation of eastern Polish voivodships," thereby equating Soviet actions in that period with fascist Germany's aggression against Poland.

Grosz, Nyers on Hungarian Parties' Differences

PM0211161389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "K. Grosz and R. Nyers on the MSZMP"]

[Text] Budapest, 1 Nov—We must not rush to convene a Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress, the main thing is not to hold it now, it is important to prepare what will be decided at this congress, K. Grosz said in response to an MTI correspondent's questions. K. Grosz, who is still a member of the MSZMP, pointed out that it is necessary to submit a program on how to overcome the crisis in the country and also to elaborate a party statute, among other questions. The current Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] statute contains many valuable new provisions which must be utilized. However, the MSZMP adheres to a somewhat different approach on questions of democracy and centralism, K. Grosz pointed out.

The former MSZMP leader stressed that nothing should be done to complicate the MSZP's activity. He expressed a wish for the strengthening of the MSZP. At the same time steps must be taken to ensure that the MSZMP also grows stronger, he said.

According to K. Grosz, he is regarded as retired on pension as of 15 November and does not wish to give this up, but if people turn to him he will be happy to assume any duties within the MSZMP. It is necessary to find a position, he pointed out, on the basis of which left-wing forces can operate. I hope that the MSZMP now being set up will be able to cooperate with the MSZP on many questions. The ban on party organizations functioning at workplaces must be seen as a violation of citizens' rights.

MTI reports that R. Nyers, speaking at a meeting of the MSZP organization in Sopron, said that the MSZP is a party that has drawn conclusions from historical lessons. The MSZMP, he continued, should have ended its activity so that the socialist movement in Hungary could continue. The new party does not erase everything, but it does have a critical attitude toward the MSZMP. The reforms it began were not completed. The MSZMP could not bring itself to consistently implement market relations within the country and pursued a mistaken foreign economic course in strengthening the one-sided orientation toward CEMA. All this represents criticism of the MSZMP's top leadership rather than of its 800,000 members, R. Nyers said.

The MSZP, R. Nyers said, should oppose those views which present the country's future as being the antithesis of what existed and what was done over 30-40 years. We also oppose a one-sided orientation toward the West. We must not tolerate anti-Sovietism. We must cooperate with all our neighbors in building the future of the eastern part of central Europe.

SFRY's Loncar Arrives in Leningrad 2 Nov

LD0211200489 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Leningrad November 2 TASS—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar did not expect his flight from Moscow to Leningrad, some 600 kilometers, to last so long.

Leaving the Soviet capital on Wednesday evening, he arrived in the city on the Neva only this afternoon.

Because of a dense fog, Leningrad's Pulkovo Airport was closed, so the guest spent last night in the Estonian capital, Tallinn.

He had to shorten appointed meetings and to put off the most important ones until Friday.

The remaining few hours of light were used for sightseeing in the city, famous for its architectural monuments, revolutionary and labour traditions and courage shown by people during the Second World War.

Leningrad held out during the 900-day siege by Nazi troops. One million citizens and soldiers gave their lives for eventual victory.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary paid homage to them at the Piskarev Memorial Cemetery where he laid a wreath.

He made a touching entry in the visitors' book.

The guest of honour then went to the Hermitage. The famous museum the 225th anniversary of which was recently observed holds three million works of art and displays excellent collections.

Trial of Former Kosovo Leaders Sparks Protests

PM0211144989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch: "SFRY: Trial in Kosovo"]

[Text] Belgrade—The trial of Azem Vlasi, former member of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee, and other former provincial leaders charged with counterrevolutionary actions threatening the SFRY social system has begun in the city of Titova Mitrovica.

Aziz Abrasi, former director of the "Trepca" combine, Burhan Kavaja, director of the "Stari Trg" mine, Lazar Krasnici, former director of "Elektro-Kosovo," and another dozen defendants—workers at Kosovo enterprises—are also in the dock. Under Yugoslav legislation they are all threatened with a severe sentence.

IZVESTIYA has written on several occasions about the events that led to the arrest of these people. The prosecution materials presented to the court by District Prosecutor S. Zamfirovic show that Vlasi and the other defendants committed grave acts against the state. The consequences of their counterrevolutionary actions are well known today, but the court will specifically determine each person's guilt and the gravity of their crime in the course of the trial. The indictment contains a host of documented materials concerning the well-known events that took place in Kosovo and the country as a whole between last November and this March.

POLITIKA EKSPRES stressed on the eve of the trial that confirmation had been received of the suppositions that the Kosovo miners' strikes in November and February which rocked the federation were provoked, preplanned, and prepared by agents provocateurs among local extremists and nationalists. The existence of an antistate antisocialist conspiracy was also confirmed.

According to the prosecution, exploiting their official and public positions, Vlasi and the other defendants carried out this counterrevolutionary program, doing their utmost to help nationalists and separatists. The outlined "measures" were carried out step by step and in March the extremists did not even balk at using firearms. In certain cities in the autonomous province separatists attacked militia stations and representatives of the public security forces, shot at patrol helicopters, and rampaged through the streets. More than 20 people died during the clashes. In these conditions, as is well known, the SFRY Presidency was forced to take and implement special measures in Kosovo.

After the events of March the political situation here gradually improved and by September the SFRY Presidency had lifted virtually all the special measures taken in response to the provocative actions by separatists and nationalists. The province's public organizations, the League of Communists of Kosovo, and its renewed leadership have done a great deal in the last few months. However, it seems that the peaceful course of events does not suit those people (both within Yugoslavia and abroad) who are trying in one way or another to complicate the political situation in the province and kindle interethnic tension again. This time the separatists, who have gone underground, chose the beginning of the trial in the city of Titova Mitrovica as the occasion for their actions.

A group of workers on the first shift at the "Stari-Trg" mine refused to ascend to the surface 27 October. Sixty-two miners, allegedly on their own initiative, made political demands, including the release of Vlasi before the trial. They ostentatiously barricaded the cage and failed to respond to telephone calls. However, miners on other shifts said that a few "fighters for human rights" were effectively controlling some 60 people.

Workers on other shifts condemned this provocative action. Kosovo's Executive Council and Provincial Assembly, along with all the province's main public organizations, resolutely opposed the separatists' and nationalists' actions.

Nevertheless, on the eve and on the day of the trial demonstrators shouted the following slogans in certain cities in Kosovo Autonomous Province and also in Zagreb and Ljubljana: "Tito, the party!" "Azem is not guilty!" "We are not nationalists, Kosovo is a republic!" Attempts to breach public order on the streets in the cities of Podujevo, Pristina, and others were suppressed by the public security forces.

LCY Plenum Seen Highlighting Differing Views

PM3010165189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Oct 89 Second Edition p6

[Own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev dispatch under the rubric "From the Scene of Events": "Not Retreating in the Face of Difficulties"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Oct—To put it briefly, the main thrust of the 28th Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, which just ended, was this: The model of Yugoslav social development has now exhausted all its potential and cannot meet the demands of progress in the changed circumstances. The new social processes and further democratization of society must be confronted as soon as possible.

The plenum discussed questions connected with economic reform and the LCY's tasks in this sphere, party activity in the sphere of social reform, and also changes and additions to the LCY Rules.

The Yugoslav mass media have pointed out that, like several previous plenums, this plenum was held in a period when confrontation was still continuing between certain leading organs of the SFRY. At the same time, TANJUG has said, the complexity of the current socioeconomic and political processes and their significance for the continued development of socialism in Yugoslavia demand unity among all of society's forces. Preparations for the 14th (extraordinary) Party Congress, which is to be held in January 1990, the work of that forum of communists, and the implementation of its decisions, the agency continued, must be oriented toward the real problems of Yugoslav society and serve the strategic aims of the changes planned for the country.

Presenting a report to the plenum on the first issue, S. Radmilovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke about the difficulties encountered by the economic reforms and, in particular, expressed the opinion that the concept of reform has not been properly thought through. This concerns those aspects of the reform connected with changes in the political system and especially measures to check rocketing inflation. Some of the speakers who took part in the debate supported the main speaker, whereas others strongly criticized him, saying that his opinion smacked of polemics with the Federal Government program approved by the SFRY Federal Assembly. The plenum participants urged the LCY to support the government's efforts to implement the proposed measures in the sphere of economic reform.

Speaking on the second item on the agenda, Presidium member I. Racan said that the LCY's main task is to answer the question of precisely what kind of socialism we would like to see. First, he continued, it must be an economically efficient system under which every citizen must enjoy prosperity and live in conditions befitting a human being. Second, in his opinion, this system must be based on market principles of economic management and contribute to strengthening pluralism of ownership. Finally, the speaker said, the LCY itself must undergo reform; and a democratic, rule-of-law state must be built. Talking about self-management, which continues to be the strategic pivot of Yugoslav socialist development, the speaker stressed that in the conditions of a market economy, on which the country has now set its sights, and in conditions of pluralism of ownership and political pluralism, there can also be a place for pluralism of forms and substance of self-management.

And what does the LCY organ, the weekly KOMUNIST, think about the situation in the party? In an editorial in its latest issue it asked the following questions, in particular: Does the LCY wish to leave the political scene forever? Does the LCY wish to be one of more or less equal parties in the SFRY democratic system? Does the LCY want to disintegrate into national parties which will try to save their nation on their own? If this is to be prevented from happening, the LCY must undergo reform and must have its authority restored in Yugoslav society.

Today, as the plenum has shown and the local press has written, on the one hand there are forces in the LCY which believe that the existing party model must be preserved, while others are in favor of transforming the LCY into a modern, democratic organization that will work in competition or in alliance with other forces in society.

Romania's 'Distinctive' Stances on Reform Noted

PM0211102389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[N. Morozov report: "On the Eve of the Romanian Communists' Congress: Searching For Their Own Path"]

[Text] Bucharest—It was a warm, sunny, and colorful Bucharest that greeted me invitingly when I resumed my post as TASS correspondent in Romania this fall. From the very outset I tried to detect the impact of two very important events—one past, one yet to come—in the country's daily life: the repayment of Romania's foreign debt, which was announced in April this year, and the preparation for the 14th Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Congress, due in November. At first glance there have been no particular changes in the city dwellers' daily lives. The doves still coo in the morning in the courtyard of the TASS office, the merry gypsy women still sweep away the fallen leaves in the deserted streets at dawn, and as before there are frequent long waiting lines at the gasoline stations and the food stores.

The urgency of the food problem in Romania can be gauged from the newspapers here. In October alone, according to press reports, N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania, paid five visits to food stores, collective farm markets, and public catering enterprises in the capital.

The recently-ended sitting of the Romanian parliament adopted a program to supply the population with farm produce and industrial consumer goods next year. Characterizing this document, N. Ceausescu pointed out that food consumption in Romania in 1990 will exceed both the existing international norms and the national plan targets. For example, annual meat consumption will average 90 kg per person. This year's large grain harvest—around 60 million tonnes—should also have a beneficial effect on improving the population's food supply, the Romanian leader stressed.

The most important feature of present-day political life in the country is the preparation for the 14th RCP Congress. Throughout the country, party organizations are holding report and election meetings and conferences to examine the draft documents for the forthcoming communist forum and analyze the tasks facing party organizations. Newspapers have been publishing numerous selections of telegrams to the Romanian leader in which the participants of meetings advocate N. Ceausescu's reelection as RCP General Secretary.

The Romanian communists' forthcoming party forum will clearly formulate the country's position on the changes in international life caused by perestroyka in the USSR and in some cases by the stormy events in a number of other socialist countries and on the discussions on the future of socialism and the paths of socialist building. However, certain reports in the Romanian press can give an impression of the Romanian attitude to the various problems troubling us and our friends in the socialist countries. There is definitely a negative attitude in Romania to, for example, the recently disseminated concepts aimed at weakening the centralized management of the economy on the basis of a single development plan, the use of market economy elements in socialist conditions, and the thesis of deideologization of international relations, which the magazine ROMANIA LITERARE called a "Trojan horse" of the contemporary ideological struggle.

At an RCP Central Committee plenum held here recently N. Ceausescu delivered a major report on fundamental questions of socialist building. This program document, which by a decision of the plenum forms the basis of the preparation for the upcoming communist forum, is a kind of generalization and summation of individual speeches on these questions so far and contains principled evaluations and judgments.

In the report the Romanian leader urged the rejection of the antisocialist theses which hold that socialism no longer corresponds to the new realities. He warned that the imperialist circles have switched to the offensive, taking advantage of the liquidationist, reformist, and rightist tendencies in the socialist countries and exaggerating certain mistakes and shortcomings in those countries.

The claims in some countries that socialism has not produced good results and that it is necessary to seek a different development path signify capitulation to the difficulties and a failure to understand the essence of socialism, the RCP general secretary stated. He called for a rebuttal of "market economy" theses and noted that the realities in some socialist countries which are switching to a market economy—increasing inflation and speculation and a decline in working people's living standards—show where that policy leads. The elimination of bureaucracy and excessive centralism must not be confused with the rejection of economic management based on a single development plan.

The Romanian leader also sharply criticized attempts to denigrate the role of the state and revolutionary workers' democracy, pointing out that it is impossible to compare democracy in the socialist countries with bourgeois democracy or to talk about equality between rich and poor. The discussions in some socialist countries on the communist party's renunciation of the leading role, he noted, can only harm working class unity and socialist-building.

N. Ceausescu stressed that the improvement and renewal of socialism must not open the way to capitalist and antisocialist forms and called for the convening of a broad conference of all the countries building socialism or advocating a socialist development path to discuss the problems of improving socialist building.

The RCP general secretary criticized the concept of the deideologization of international relations and thesis of the need to "replace the concept of class struggle." There is talk of abandoning the struggle between the different social systems as the condition of mankind's survival and of averting war. However, no concept can replace the theory of the struggle between classes, which is the determining factor of society's development, N. Ceausescu stressed. The settlement of conflicts and various world problems through talks must not lead to concessions of principle which threaten socialism and the peoples' freedom and independence.

Such are the first "Romanian answers" to the problems of socialist development posed by life. The fundamental basis of the strategy and tactics of building the new society in Romania in present-day conditions will in all likelihood be given at the 14th RCP Congress. For the moment, however, a country with considerable domestic problems is actively preparing for the communist forum which, in the present atmosphere of intensive searching for new socialist development paths, will evidently determine Romania's distinctive place in a socialist community which is experiencing a difficult stage of renewal.

RSFSR Delegation Meets With CPCZ's Urbanek

PM0211142989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Delegation in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 1 Nov—K. Urbanek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic (CSR), received a Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet delegation headed by S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, here Tuesday [31 October].

K. Urbanek briefed the Soviet guests on the experience of the Committee for Party Work in the CSR in backing the restructuring of social life and on state enterprises' switch to the new economic mechanism as of 1 January 1990. He noted that the committee regards the mobilization of the whole of society for the fulfillment of these objectives as its main task and seeks to activate all the organizations included in the National Front and to broaden their participation in the development of socialist democracy. In this context, the committee is paying special attention to the restructuring of party organs and organizations and the consolidation of the party's leading role in society.

Embassy in CSSR Hosts October Revolution Fete

LD0211232389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, 2 Nov (TASS)—On the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a reception was given today at the USSR Embassy in the CSSR. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front; Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR; Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government, and other officials were present.

Deputy Premier Laverov Meets With CSSR's Julis

PM0211143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 27 October N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received K. Julis, deputy premier of of the CSSR Government and chairman of the CSSR State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development.

During the conversation questions connected with the new approaches to managing scientific-technical progress in both countries were discussed.

West Europe

Maltese Prime Minister on Bush, Gorbachev Visit

LD0211180589 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Valletta November 2 TASS—Maltese Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami has expressed satisfaction on behalf of the Maltese people that the presidents of the USSR and the United States will visit Malta before their meeting on board warships in the Mediterranean in December.

He said he believes this is an exceptional opportunity for Malta.

The Maltese prime minister said it is certainly very difficult to welcome two presidents at the same time. "But we are lucky that they will visit Malta before their meeting early next month," the prime minister said.

Italy's Spadolini Previews Gorbachev Visit

LD0211184389 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Teterin:

"President Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to our country is very important. It meets the interests Italy which has always adhered and adheres to its consistent course of relaxing East-West tensions," TASS was told by Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Italian Parliament.

Italy's policy aims to overcome misunderstanding and mistrust between the two blocs which should find ways to jointly prevent a nuclear holocaust.

"Italy's firm adherence to the foreign policy of the North Atlantic alliance has never prevented it from acting in the spirit of peace," Giovanni Spadolini continued.

"Today we can say with satisfaction that the word 'Europe', so very important for international history, has the same connotation in the East and West of our continent. This is important for strengthening economic and commercial relations," he noted.

"When President Gorbachev speaks of Europe as of our 'common home', he also has in mind such a thing as culture which is the same for Moscow and Rome, Paris and Warsaw."

"Today nobody wants to 'readjust' the post-war balance of forces. This question is difficult and requires a cautious approach. Favourable prerequsites are being created to use a large share of funds, earmarked for military purposes, to restructure the Soviet economy. This can be done in conditions of mutual respect and observance of disarmament agreements."

The president of the Italian Senate stressed the importance of established direct contacts between the Soviet Union and the EEC, where Italy will soon preside over the governing bodies.

"The establishment of such contacts has ushered in a new stage in relations on the European continent." Spadolini said.

Gorbachev Meeting with PCI's Rubbi Reported

PM0311165089 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 1 Nov 89 p 12

[Sergio Sergi dispatch: "Rubbi Received by Gorbachev in Moscow"]

[Text] Moscow—"This isn't how you remembered it, is it? Here is our parliament in the full exercise of democracy..." With these remarks Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday addressed Antonio Rubbi, Italian Communist Party [PCI] Directorate member and Foreign Section chief, who is in the Soviet Union as the CPSU's guest. Yesterday the Italian leader was invited to attend the Supreme Soviet session presided over by the Soviet leader himself, with whom he later conversed at the end of the morning session. The topic of the conversation—which was also attended by CPSU Central Committee International Department chief Valentin Falin—was the Supreme Soviet's new role following the latest elections and the heavy tasks facing parliament in the present complex political situation. Having observed Gorbachev constantly busy fulfilling his task as chairman, Antonio Rubbi commented: "It must doubtless be exhausting to be constantly in charge of the proceedings." Gorbachev: "It is necessary for the time being..."

During the meeting there was also discussion of the Soviet leader's imminent visit to Italy. "At last it will be possible to pay this visit," Gorbachev commented. Deputy Rubbi observed: "There is a great deal of expectancy in our country. It is a pity that there will not be enough to satisfy so much interest and all the requests." Gorbachev: "There is not enough time for everything; on the contrary, everybody has a great number of problems to deal with." The Soviet president asked Rubbi to convey his greetings to PCI Secretary General Achille Occhetto, adding: "Tell him that we will meet soon in Rome."

During his visit to Moscow, Rubbi met at CPSU headquarters in Old Square with Anatoliy Chernyayev, Central Committee member and Gorbachev's assistant in the Supreme Soviet, and with Yuriy Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU's International Department. The talks broached many issues of concern to the respective parties and European issues in general. The PCI representative was also keen to increase his knowledge of the problems facing perestroyka and its subsequent developments. Rubbi was also received at the PRAVDA offices by the CPSU newspaper's new editor, Ivan Frolov.

Wallenberg's Sister Praises Moscow Talks

LD2210130489 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 22 TASS—"We met in Moscow with the representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the State Security Committee (KGB). We were given the personal belongings of my brother and documents on his stay at the Lyubyanka prison, found in the archives," Nina Lagergren, the sister of Raoul Wallenberg, told the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

"The meetings passed in a very friendly atmosphere. The conversation was frank and although Soviet representatives continue to insist that my brother died in prison in 1947, I and my friends at the Raoul Wallenberg Association regard the current visit as a begining of dialogue with Soviet authorities. Undoubtedly this is progress."

"Along with the belongings," she continued, "we managed to find an index card on Raoul, filled in at the Lyubyanka Prison. judgying by the entry, he was brought there on February 6, 1945. I did not go to the prison. It is too painful for me to visit the place where by brother languished for several years. We also believe that Raoul is still alive. We have evidence of some witnesses who saw him after 1947."

Yakovlev Meets Austrian Communist Party Delegation

LD3110163189 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 31 TASS—A delegation of the Austrian Communist Party was received today by Aleksander Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The delegation consists of Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party, Walter Silbermayr, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Austrian Communist Party's Central Committee, and Johann Steiner, chief of the International Department of the Party's Central Committee.

The interlocutors exchanged information about the activity of their parties. The Austrian comrades spoke about the preparation for the 27th congress of the Austrian Communist Party, to be held in January 1990. The congress is to adopt a number of documents determining the tasks of the work of the Austrian communists in the nineties.

Questions connected with the development of the situation in Europe and the relations between the two countries and parties were also discussed.

The meeting passed in a comradely atmosphere characteristic for relations between the Soviet Communist Party and the Austrian Communist Party.

Delegation Departs Moscow

LD0211184589 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—A delegation of leaders of the Austrian Communist Party, led by party Chairman Franz Muhri, left Moscow for Vienna today.

The delegation had been in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

KPOe Officials, Gorbachev Discuss EC, Integration

AU0211114089 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 1 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Gorbachev: No Yes to EC Membership"]

[Text] Moscow—In a talk with Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria [KPOe], and Central Committee Secretary Walter Silbermayr, Mikhail Gorbachev made clear that his statements in Finland about the role of the neutral states referred to the establishment of an all-European home.

The KPOe delegation, which has been staying in Moscow since Monday evening [30 October], met with the CPSU general secretary in the Supreme Soviet on Tuesday. On this occasion, the Austrian delegation told Gorbachev about the Austrian interpretation of his statements in Finland. As is known, Austrian media as well as government representatives had assessed Gorbachev's statements as the Soviet Union's agreement to joining the EC or as a confirmation of the government's course concerning the approach to the EC.

Gorbachev made clear that his statements referred to the need for an all-European integration process within the framework of the concept of an all-European home. Gorbachev again stressed the value of neutrality and repeated the positive assessment of Austria's permanent neutrality and of the good Austrian-Soviet relations.

Concerning his visit to Finland, the general secretary said that the newly shaped relations between the Soviet Union and neutral Finland now give a positive content to the term "Finlandization" for other countries in Europe.

In the talk the KPOe delegation again emphasized the incompatibility of Austria's EC membership with permanent neutrality. Both sides stressed the solidary relations between the KPOe and the CPSU.

On Tuesday the KPOe delegation, which also includes Hans Steiner, head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department, also met with CPSU Politburo Member Yakovlev.

Falin Meets GDR's Free Communist Party Member

LD0111235289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 1 Nov (TASS)—Valentin Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting today with Karl Heinz Schroeder, member of the presidium and secretariat of the board of the DKP [German Communist Party].

During the meeting the interlocutors exchanged information on the current issues on which the CPSU and the DKP are working, and on the further development of mutual ties.

FRG 'Revanchist's' View on Western Poland Hit

PM0211152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[M. Tretyakov report: "Alarm Signals: What the Leader of the 'Union of Exiles' Was Seeking in Warsaw"]

[Text] How firm and indestructible is Poland's western border? Until very recently such a question would have caused bewilderment, to say the least, in Polish society and particularly among the ruling circles. The fact is that any attempts by revanchist circles in the FRG to cast doubt on the territorial and political situation in Europe and thereby the stability of Poland's western border created as a result of World War II were decisively rebuffed in Poland.

But definite changes toward the position of the West German revanchist Landsmannschaften are clearly taking place on this fundamental question for Poland on the initiative of certain circles in Solidarity. As the Polish press has reported, in Warsaw in October there was a conference of the "Conservative council on Eastern European questions"—an extreme conservative organization—in which Hartmut Koschyk, general secretary of the "union of exiles," an anti-Polish center and center of the FRG's revanchist Landsmannschaften, deputies of the Sejm and the Senate belonging to the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, and Solidarity figures and publicists including M. Krol, chief editor of the journal RZECZPOSPOLITA, took part.

At a press conference in Bonn afterward, H. Koschyk stated with satisfaction that the conference participants from the Polish side treated his speech with understanding. At the same time he drew journalists' attention to the Solidarity newspaper GAZETA WYBORCZA's special understanding of the problems of the so-called "German minority" in Poland.

What political ideas did the leader of the "eternal yesterday's men" bring with him to Warsaw? Perhaps he stated in the city on the Vistula that the "union of exiles" renounces its claims to the western lands which have been Polish from time immemorial? Absolutely not. In his speech the 30-year old Koschyk stressed the temporary character of the border solutions between the FRG and Poland, noting that the starting point for talks on this question is the territorial situation of 1937. That is, the borders of fascist Germany. He resolutely opposed the approval of the present territorial arrangement at future Polish-West German (?!) talks, claiming that the two sides must be ready for compromise on territorial questions.

Nor did the FRG revanchist overlook the so-called problem of the "German minority" in Poland. To maintain the "German spirit" on the Western lands (meaning of course Polish territory), he said, the Germans living there must be given economic prospects. To that end the FRG should pay special attention to investment policy in that region through the support of initiatives to create German private enterprises in Silesia and to ensure their cooperation with firms in West Germany. In his opinion, this economic policy must be pursued under the auspices of the revanchist Landsmannschaften.

What is the meaning of the demands to recognize in a separate Polish-West German agreement special rights for the so-called "German minority" in Poland and the acceptance of the idea that the FRG can freely conduct its economic activity on Poland's western lands? This is nothing less than interference in Poland's internal affairs and an attempt to gradually tear its western lands from it.

At the Bonn press conference, Koschyk also stressed that as a result of the changed arrangement of political forces in Poland and the creation of a government in which Solidarity plays the leading role, the approach to the so-called "German minority" problem has also changed "in a positive way." As TRYBUNA LUDU notes, the Warsaw speeches by Koschyk, representing revanchist circles in the FRG who seek a revision of Poland's western borders, were received by the Solidarity participants in the conference with understanding. And that can only cause alarm.

Report on Madrid Talks on Consular Issues

LD0211202889 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Madrid November 2 TASS—Soviet-Spanish consultations on consular questions were held in Madrid between October 30 and November 2. The Soviet delegation was led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Chaplin and the Spanish delegation—by Deputy Foreign Minister Inocencio Arias.

Chaplin met Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez. The sides discussed the opening of a Soviet consulate general in Barcelona and a Spanish consulate general in Leningrad.

They also examined moves to streamline the issuing of visas and the strengthening of the legal basis for Soviet-Spanish cooperation.

The talks were held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere in accordance with the spirit of the final document of the Vienna meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Chernyshev Holds News Conference on Kuwait Talks

TA3110161189 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1550 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Ankara (A.A)—The Soviet Union is pleased over the commencement of the Turco-Bulgarian talks in order to find a solution to the problems of the Turkish minority living in Bulgaria, the Soviet ambassador in Ankara said on Tuesday.

Turkey and Bulgaria, which on Monday had their first high level talks in Kuwait since more than 300,000 Bulgarian Turks from Bulgaria fled to Turkey last summer, announced that they would continue ministerial negotiations in another meeting to be held again in Kuwait in November.

Albert Chernyshev told a press conference here that yesterday's face-to-face meeting of Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz and Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Georgi Yordanov in Kuwait was a very positive development initiating a process of solution.

Chernyshev said he believed that the Soviet efforts to mediate between Turkey and Bulgaria also contributed to this development.

Chernyshev has made shuttle visits to Moscow and Sofia in recent months to contact senior Soviet and Bulgarian officials on the issue.

The Soviet ambassador also said he recently presented a verbal statement by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to Prime Minister Ozal on the trade relations between the two countries.

Gorbachev said in his statement that he was pleased with the improvement of bilateral trade relations, Chernyshev said.

Projections say the trade volume between Turkey and the Soviet Union will reach one billion dollars by the end of 1989, up from 700 million dollars in 1988.

Latin America & Caribbean

Lukyanov Receives Guyanese Envoy's Credentials

PM0211161989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] On 1 November R. Chandisingh, Guyanese ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented his credentials in the Kremlin to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The ambassador highly appraised relations between the two countries and expressed hopes for their continued dynamic, constructive development. He stressed that Guyana is following the changes taking place in the USSR with great interest and attention and gives the Soviet leadership its due for its efforts to create the foundations of security and peace on earth free of the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman, A.I. Lukyanov said that the Soviet side is consistently in favor of deepening friendly relations with Guyana and highly values the desire shown by the Guyanese leadership to develop between our countries mutually advantageous cooperation based on mutual understanding and trust and on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs, which have been and remain the fundamental components of Soviet foreign policy. It was noted that the proximity or coincidence of the Soviet and Guyanese positions on the most important problems of the day create a good basis for collaboration between the two countries in the interests of a political settlement to regional conflicts and the strengthening of peace and stability.

A friendly conversation ensued between A.I. Lukyanov and R. Chandisingh after the presentation of credentials.

Yakovlev Holds Talks With Argentine Communists

LD1610183589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1446 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members of the leadership of the Communist Party of Argentina, secretary general Patricio Echegaray, and party President Athos Fava, noted with satisfaction the progressive development of relations between the USSR and Argentina. During a meeting held today they stressed the aspiration of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Argentina for the deepening of cooperation, and also exchanged information on the activity of their parties. Certain questions concerning the international communist movement were discussed.

Statement on Supreme Soviet Visit to Mexico

PM0211152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Joint Statement on USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation Visit to Mexico"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by M.I. Snegur, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, paid an official visit to Mexico 25 through 31 October 1989 at the invitation of this country's National Congress. The delegation included USSR People's Deputies V.A Kiselev, V.I. Ogarok, and S.B. Stankevich.

The Soviet parliamentarians were received by the republic's president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, to whom the delegation head gave a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

They had meetings and conversations with Emilio M. Gonzalez Parra, chairman of the Grand Commission of the Senate; Guillermo Jimenes Morales, chairman of the Grand Commission of the Chamber of Deputies; Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales; Defense Minister General Antonio Riviello Bazan; Mayor of Mexico City Manuel Camacho Solis; State Governor of Morelos Antonio Riva Palacio; and other officials.

In the course of the talks, which took place in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged opinions on topical international problems of mutual interest and also a broad range of questions relating to the activity of the two countries' parliaments.

The Mexican parliamentarians informed them about the domestic political situation in Mexico, the process of the talks between the country's government and financial institutions, both international and private, the question of the foreign debt, and also Mexico's main foreign policy initiatives aimed at strengthening international peace and security, eliminating the nuclear threat, and achieving the political settlement of regional conflicts.

The Soviet delegation spoke about the current stage of the perestroyka being implemented within the USSR aimed at renewing all spheres of the life of Soviet society and attaining a higher level of development for the country on the basis of radical political and economic reform, broad democratization, and glasnost.

This course is indissolubly linked with the Soviet Union's political will to strengthen peace and international security.

The Mexican parliamentarians welcomed the changes taking place in the USSR and wished the process of perestroyka success.

In the course of a joint analysis of the international situation the sides noted the coincidence of their viewpoints that it is characterized by the development of positive trends, which create additional opportunities for further deepening political dialogue and mutual understanding between countries, creating favorable conditions between them for exchanges in the political, social, and cultural spheres and joint questing for solutions to mankind's fundamental problems.

In this context they pointed out parliamentarians' increasing role in ensuring peace, strengthening the atmosphere of trust, and developing equal and mutually beneficial international cooperation.

The Mexican parliamentarians confirmed the special significance of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session and of the USSR's foreign policy initiatives announced there.

Noting the historical significance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles which heralded a marked reduction in the destructive nuclear potential, the sides spoke in favor of ensuring that the USSR-U.S. talks end as soon as possible with the attainment of an agreement on the complete elimination of their strategic offensive arms. For their part, the Mexican legislators confirmed Mexico's intention to strive for complete, universal, and verifiable disarmament, which needed to effectively guarantee peace and international security.

In the course of the discussion of the problem in question they pointed out the need to ensure that work begins as a matter of urgency within the framework of the Disarmament Conference on preparing treaties on the all-embracing banning and subsequent elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons.

The Soviet side stressed the constructive nature of the stance held by Mexico, which submitted—along with a number of other countries—an initiative to extend the operation of the 1963 Moscow Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions.

Noting the close linkage between disarmament and development, the parliamentarians pointed out that achieving a specific improvement in the reduction of both developed and developing states' armed forces and arms would enable additional resources to be channeled into resolving the political, socioeconomic, and environmental problems facing mankind. They also advocated taking concrete steps with a view to easing the burden of developing states' foreign debt and restructuring international trade and economic and financial relations on a just and democratic basis.

The USSR and Mexican legislators once again confirmed their states' determination to help strengthen the nuclear-free status of Latin America on the basis of the Tlatelolco Treaty and create a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic and nuclear-free zones in various regions of the world.

As representatives of states with an outlet onto the Pacific region, the parliamentarians advocated that this region be consistently transformed into a zone of durable peace and security where relations of goodwill and cooperation would develop. The Mexican side noted with satisfaction the Soviet Union's signing of the protocols to the Treaty of Raratonga.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and the senators from Mexico's National Congress expressed satisfaction at the positive trends in solving conflicts in a number of world regions.

Examining the situation in Central America, the Soviet and Mexican parliamentarians were unanimous in their belief that a just political settlement in Central America through negotiations is only possible with strict observance of such fundamental principles of international law as respect for sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and recognition of the inalienability of each people's right to free self-determination.

They noted with satisfaction the progress made in improving the situation in the region, which in many respects became possible owing to the accords secured by the presidents of the Central American countries at their meetings in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras.

The Soviet delegation members noted that people in the USSR have a high opinion of Mexico's peacemaking efforts in the quest for ways to normalize the situation in Central America via the activation of various negotiating mechanisms in order to achieve the common aim—to consolidate the peaceful and respectful coexistence of the countries and peoples of Latin America and the whole world.

The Soviet side once again stated that the USSR is prepared to continue to actively promote the normalization of the situation in this region and establish peace, good-neighborliness, and equal cooperation between the Central American countries for the purpose of development and urges all states with interests in this region to do this.

The sides called for a most speedy settlement of the situation in Afghanistan and the convocation of an international conference on the Near East under UN auspices, they welcomed the consolidation of positive changes in inter-Khmer dialogue and in the process of Namibia's decolonization, and supported the South African people's right to create a democratic nonracist state in the RSA.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and the members of the Senate of the Mexican National Congress noted that environmental protection has become one of the most urgent global tasks. They welcomed the idea of convening a UN summit conference in 1992 on the environment and development. The two countries' parliamentarians supported the USSR's proposal to establish an Emergency Environmental Aid Center at the United Nations.

They pointed out with satisfaction the ongoing development of Soviet-Mexican relations and underlined the important significance of the deepening political dialogue between the two countries and the broadening of contacts between the two countries' parliaments, governments, and state, public, and economic institutions.

Both sides advocated the further development of cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and Mexico's National Congress and their permanent committees and commissions, and also at international forums, above all within the framework of the Interparliamentary Union.

Soviet and Mexican legislators welcomed the signing in June 1989 of the Long-Term Program for Trade and Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and Mexico and voiced the hope that this document will serve as an important boost for eliminating the imbalances between the high level of political relations and the untapped potential of trade and economic ties.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation expressed sincere gratitude to Mexico's parliamentarians and official authorities for its warm and friendly reception and gave the Mexican National Congress an invitation to send a delegation on an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1990. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

U.S. Army Troops' Deployment in Panama Noted

PY0211224789 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 2 Nov 89

[By Leonid Levchnkov]

[Text] The U.S. Army Southern Command has conducted military maneuvers at Gamboa, 15 km from Panama's capital. Many U.S. Army units based in the Panama Canal Zone are deployed there. The soldiers, supported by tanks and helicopters, took up combat positions and installed antiaircraft artillery and other weapons.

As on previous occasions, the U.S. Southern Command did not believe it necessary to warn the Panamanian authorities. Thus, the United States again showed its completes lack of respect for the treaties signed with Panama regarding the canal.

It was not, then, an error when Panamanian television characterized the incident as a provocation. We can only share their opinion, particularly because the maneuvers took place in a especially tense climate provoked by the failed coup of 3 October.

During an interview with the Mexican newspaper DIA not long ago, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, said the United States had directly participated in the preparation of the failed coup. The Southern Command special services were in charge of those preparations, Gen Noriega said.

During a news conference General Maxwell Thurman, who took command of the Southern Command just 3 days before 3 October, admitted that U.S. troops in Panama do participate in limited confrontations but avoid armed clashes.

According to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, Gen Thurman has said that the troops under his command are in a state of undeclared war against Panama. Apparently U.S. authorities found Thurman's statement untimely. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told reporters that the Government does not define the situation as such. However, it is not terminology but the U.S. policy that matters. This policy uses the excuse of forcing Gen Noriega's resignation to seek approval for a revision of the Panama Canal Treaty. The treaty states that the last U.S. soldier must leave Panama by the last day of 1999 and that the canal itself will be placed under Panamanian sovereignty. The United States believes it will be easier to reach its objectives if the Panamanian opposition, with U.S. help, can take power.

It is interesting to note that the recent maneuvers coincided with the U.S. President's visit to San Jose. Bush condemned the Panamanian Government during his speech. The U.S. Government, meanwhile, announced new economic sanctions against Panama.

The sanctions are based on a law dating back to World War I that forbids U.S. citizens to do any business with firms of hostile countries.

This issue makes you wonder. We just mention the facts so that listeners can make their own deductions.

U.S. Military Presence in Caribbean Viewed

PM0211133589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "They Are Increasing the Threat"]

[Text] The facts attest irrefutably that the United States has embarked upon the further buildup of its military presence in the Caribbean basin. Thus, according to a CBS television report, aircraft equipped with the long-range radar tracking and control system (AWACS) which patrol the area daily in search of "suspicious objects" have already been transferred to this region from Saudi Arabia. And as of 1 October U.S. fighters have been deployed at U.S. air bases in the region and, upon signals from AWACS aircraft, they take off to "check" aircraft on course for the United States.

Official Washington justifies these steps by the need to activate the struggle against the smuggling of drugs from Colombia and a number of other Latin American countries. But it is CBS again which stresses that it is utterly incomprehensible how supersonic military aircraft can "apprehend suspicious civilian aircraft" whose speed is only 200 miles an hour or even less.

It has also become known that the U.S. Naval Command has elaborated plans for the permanent deployment of 8 or 10 warships in the Caribbean to intercept and check "suspicious vessels." At the same time it is clear from U.S. Defense Department figures that it is also planned to deploy a U.S. aircraft carrier off Colombian shores together with escort ships with Marines on board on full combat alert.

In this connection it should be noted that the United States has already essentially turned the Caribbean basin into its military bridgehead. In the past 5 years alone, according to the CARIBBEAN NEWS AGENCY [CANA] the United States has spent over $130 million for the purpose, justifying this by "the need to ensure security in the region." As an example of the United States' heightened interest in this region CANA cites the decision taken by Washington in June 1983 to keep its military base on Antigua. Some 4 months after this it played an important part in organizing the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Some 2 years after that a training center was created at this base for the security forces of the East Caribbean states, whose installation cost $11 million. In addition Antigua has a key role in "implementing the program of tests of strategic missiles" stationed on U.S. atomic submarines. And sonar and other underwater equipment actively used by the U.S. Navy has been installed on Andros island (Bahamas). At the same time the United States' "strategically secret" military presence on the Bermuda islands is viewed by the Pentagon as an important element in U.S. and NATO strategy.

But there is no doubt that the center of U.S. military presence in the Caribbean is Puerto Rico. The main U.S. naval base is situated there, ensuring the training of personnel, the deployment of the navy in the region, tests of new weapons systems, and material and technical supplies during possible combat operations. Nuclear weapons are also stationed in Puerto Rico, as is the infrastructure, including communications facilities, which could be brought into action during global crisis situations and especially during complications on a regional scale.

In brief, the U.S. military establishments in Antigua, the Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bermudas, and Puerto Rico are actively used by the Pentagon to keep in its militarist sights all states of the Caribbean and those adjacent to it. Commenting on the problem of U.S. military presence in the region, PRENSA LATINA stressed that it is "Washington's unilateral imposition of U.S. security interests, which threatens the Caribbean countries' survival." It is absolutely clear that the present militarist buildup the United States is undertaking increases this threat still further, also extending it beyond the Caribbean basin.

Supreme Soviet Session

Further on 1 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

'Toward Rule-of-Law State'

PM0311112189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and V. Kurasov report under the rubric "At the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Step Toward Rule-of-Law State"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] ...Let us return to the events of the 1 November morning and evening plenary sittings. We have already reported that, on the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, delivered a report on the draft Standing Orders of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and other draft laws determining the activity of our elected representatives.

We are talking about a package of organically interconnected acts designed to ensure the effective working of the Congress, the Supreme Soviet, and every USSR people's deputy, he said. Extremely intensive work lies ahead. It is complicated by the fact that new norms for our overall activity are having to be elaborated almost as we go along, inasmuch as practical work in all structures of the country's new supreme organ of power is developing daily. Our task is to enshrine all the best elements of this practical work and at the same time provide scope for further improvements in the work of deputies within the chambers' committees and commissions and the Congress and Supreme Soviet as a whole.

Recalling Lenin's well-known remark that legislation demands extreme care, the speaker stressed the importance of procedural questions. He also particularly singled out the Law on the Status of People's Deputies. This is understandable, since it is the deputy who must be the central figure in a soviet of any level and within the system of representative democracy as a whole.

R.N. Nishanov pointed out that during the preparation of the new draft laws consideration was given to our new parliament's accumulated experience, along with a great many useful elements from world legislative practice. Characterizing the features of the documents under examination, he laid the main stress on the most critical provisions which provoked many heated arguments at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In particular, he discussed the secret ballot procedure, other important procedural questions, the principles of the formation and accountability of various central bodies, including the country's government, and the Supreme Soviet's monitoring powers and foreign policy activity.

The package of documents put forward for consideration, the speaker said, was distributed to people's deputies during the first session of our parliament; they have had time to study it thoroughly and submit proposals and addenda. More than 60 deputies have conveyed their comments to the Supreme Soviet's Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee.

Touching on the question of voters' instructions to USSR people's deputies, the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities stressed that, as a rule, only those instructions relating to the competence of union ministries, departments, and organizations should be accepted for execution.

Then R.N. Nishanov answered numerous questions from deputies, explaining in conclusion that the proposed legal acts will undergo further finishing work in the committees and commissions and that there is still an opportunity to improve and refine them.

People's Deputy K.D. Lubenchenko spoke on behalf of the Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee. He said that these documents, which have been created by qualified state law specialists, are the basis for further work and that they still have to undergo further examination in all committees and commissions.

After a short recess, N.D. Pivovarov, chairman of the Soviet of People's Deputies Management and Self-Management Development Committee, was given the floor. Speaking about the difficult birth of the drafts under discussion, he said, inter alia: One draft law alone on voters' instructions to USSR people's deputies went through nine versions in the committee stage.

The Soviet of Nationalities Standing Orders must differ from the Soviet of the Union Standing Orders, otherwise the separation of the Supreme Soviet into two chambers will be merely arbitrary, Deputy R.V. Gudaytis said. He was opposed to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies ratifying the composition of the Supreme Soviet inasmuch as representatives of one republic cannot be aware of the professional and human qualities of other regions' emissaries.

People's Deputy Yu.N. Shcherbak believes that the draft laws duplicate one another in many respects, so it is sufficient to adopt only two of them—those on status and standing orders.

People's Deputies T.N. Dudkov, A.Ye. Sebentsov, A.A. Likhanov, V.I. Matviyenko, N.N. Koryugin, and others also voiced their proposals.

The question of approving the package of draft laws at the first reading was put to the vote: 390 deputies voted "for," 8 voted "against," and there were 6 abstentions. The committees and commissions have been given 2 weeks to put the finishing touches to them.

Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, was given the floor twice—at the 1 November morning and evening sittings, presenting the deputies first with the Draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Judicial System and then with the draft Law on the Procedure of Appeal to the

Courts Against Unlawful Actions by State Management Organs and Officials in Breach of Citizens' Rights. The adoption of these laws will be a further step toward creating a genuine rule-of-law state, the speaker and many deputies pointed out. It is true, however, that the participants in the discussion did not agree on everything with the authors of the drafts and with the observations already introduced by the Supreme Soviet Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee.

Deputies A.V. Oborin and V.I. Semenko upheld the joint viewpoint held by this committee and the USSR Supreme Court, which had submitted the draft laws for consideration. People's Deputies I.B. Shamshev, N.I. Ignatovich, Yu.K. Sharipov, F.M. Burlatskiy, A.M. Yakovlev, V.M. Minin, A.A. Denisov, B.I. Oleynik, and many others spoke in fairly stringent opposition.

Which proposals will be adopted? Which will be rejected? We will obviously receive the answer to these questions soon. Both draft laws were adopted at the first reading.

Vote on Draft Plan, Budget

PM0211160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Morning Edition pp 1,2

[Report by IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and V. Kurasov under the rubric "At the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session": "The Country's Plan and Budget Have Been Adopted"]

[Excerpts] A.I. Lukyanov chaired the morning sitting 1 November. The figure 415 lit up on the electronic board. That was the number of USSR Supreme Soviet members who set down to work. [Passage omitted].

...The day before, the 31 October evening plenary sitting ended much later than usual. However, this time we were shown that the delay did not provoke the slightest objections from any deputies: The decision they had to adopt on the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1990 and the country's State Budget for 1990 was too important and crucial. It is no coincidence that more than 120 people's deputies signed up to speak in the debate. Of course, by no means all of them succeeded in getting up to the rostrum. But, without anticipating anything, let us say that those people who were unable to speak, were given an opportunity to submit their proposals to the presidium for inclusion in the stenographic report published in the bulletins of the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session. [Passage omitted].

At the end of the debate L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Pavlov, USSR finance minister; and V.G. Kurchenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission; who delivered reports on the draft plan and budget at the plenary sittings 30 October, answered numerous questions from deputies.

M.S. Gorbachev put the following proposal to the vote: that the draft USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1990 be adopted as a base. The results of the voting were as follows: 398 deputies voted "for," 13 voted "against," and there were 11 abstentions.

V.G. Kurchenko read out the items of the resolution which have been amended. A number of deputies amplified individual provisions of the draft. For instance, agrarian deputies proposed wording one item as follows: That 10 percent of the centralized capital investments allocated to state enterprises be channeled into the development of the agroindustrial complex. The proposal provoked a trenchant debate—the original wording was, according to some deputies, less precise since it said "authorize to use." All the same, the deputies approved this version by a majority vote.

In the light of certain amendments the resolution was accepted by and large, with 355 votes "for," 36 "against," and 19 abstentions.

The participants in the session moved on to the adoption of the Law on the USSR State Budget for 1990. The proposal to adopt the draft law as a base did not draw any particular objections (374 people voted "for," 17 "against," and there 18 abstentions). However, when they moved onto discussing special proposals contained in the conclusion drawn up by the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions on this draft, three of these proposals provoked a sharp refusal from the session participants. The following proposals were made in order to increase budgetary income: that retail prices for tobacco products be raised by an average of 30 percent with a view to mobilizing the requisite financial resources to further develop the health service's material base and also to limit consumption of tobacco and tobacco products; that retail prices on beer be raised by 20 percent; and that retail prices for luxury meat products (tongue, liver, and so on), sturgeon and salmon caviar, and crab be raised considering the shortage of individual meat and fish luxury goods and the uneven consumption of these goods by individual population groups. [Passage omitted].

Anticrime Program

LD0211194989 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Principles of a draft federal programme for combatting crime were discussed here on Wednesday by the Commission for Legislation Politics at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Boris Pugo, chairman of the Party Control Committee, presided over the commission's meeting.

The participants at the meeting noted that the further strengthening of the rule of law and the stepping up of the struggle against crime were among the most urgent issues of political significance in conditions of perestroyka and the establishment of a law-governed state in the country.

An entire effective system of organizational, legal, economic, educational, preventive and other special actions is required to counter violations of law and resolve the pressing issues.

The federal programme for combatting crime must comprise all these measures.

It is advisable to single out two basic stages in the preparation and the implementation of the programme, the participants pointed out.

The objectives of the first stage are the working out of urgent measures to secure the normalization of the situation in the country during 1990 and the creation of organizational, technical, material and legal resources to prevent and effectively combat crime.

The second stage is intended to draw up a long-term, theoretically substantiated, complex programme of action meant to secure a reliable protection of socialist society against criminal infringements in the 13th five-year plan period (1991-1995) and in the perspective.

Many speakers stressed the need to make the entire legal system consistent with the present conditions of the development of Soviet society and the international agreements ratified by the Soviet Union.

The commission approved the principles of the federal programme for combatting crime. It recommended that the relevant law-enforcement ministries and departments work towards the final text of the programme taking account of the suggestions and remarks made at the meeting.

Further on Supreme Soviet 2 Nov Session

Adopts Laws

LD0211152389 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet has approved at the first reading today the Social Security Bill. It aims to raise the living standards of pensioners. The document affects the destiny of one fifth of the country's population. It will now be submitted for nationwide discussion.

The need to revise the almost 30-year old legislation was prompted by the fact that the growing cost of living has worsened pensioners' living standards in recent years.

Submitting the bill, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov told deputies that pensions would be raised by approximately 40 per cent.

The Soviet parliament also adopted today several legal acts on Soviet courts. They include the law on appeals against unlawful actions by administrative organs and officials, and the law on contempt of court.

The deputies heard an intermediary report of a parliamentary commission set up to look into the work of the USSR Procurators Office investigation team headed by Telman Gdlyan (the team leader was accused of using unlawful methods to get confessions. In turn, Telman Gdlyan claims that these charges are intended to absolve from responsibility some "bribe-takers from top administrative echelons".

The Supreme Soviet took note of the report and called on the two sides and the media to refrain from pressuring the commission.

The session will resume after the November 7 holidays—the 72nd anniversary of the October Revolution.

The next joint meeting of the two chambers will be held on November 13.

Judicial Reform Legislation

LD0211132889 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet passed several bills designed to give greater independence to the Soviet judiciary today.

In a debate on Wednesday, the deputies adopted the first reading of a major draft law—the USSR and republican legal guidelines on court structures—and passed it on for discussion to the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Other bills passed today include: a bill on appeals against malpractice by state executive bodies and officials.

The bill is designed to protect rights of individuals against official abuse.

The previous law, adopted in 1987, allowed appeals only against individuals and did not concern collective bodies.

In another action, the Supreme Soviet passed a bill on contempt of court, which carries sentences of up to three years in prison for any undue influence on court officials.

The Soviet parliament also adopted several documents which regulate judges' practices.

Gdlyan-Ivanov Probe

LD0311033889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1937 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Report by Deputy Roy Medvedev on the work of the Gdlyan-Ivanov Investigation Commission, followed by remarks by an unidentified deputy, member of the commission, at the 2 November session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin—recorded]

[Text] [Medvedev] So, esteemed deputies, now we have three chairmen. Therefore, at our sitting yesterday we made the decision that other members of the commission also should get 2-3 minutes each for a statement if they consider it necessary. I am only giving the factual part of our work. The commission informs the Supreme Soviet of work during June and July 1989 for the 1 August 1989 sitting of the Supreme Soviet. During the parliamentary recess, individual commission members on duty carried out on-going work and studied information and documents received. In September and October, in order to resume work, the commission drew up a detailed plan, having elaborated the obligations of the commission members. We made the decision to carry out plenary sittings of the commission in an atmosphere of glasnost, admitting to these sittings press representatives and all people's deputies who so wished. As a rule, sittings take place in the Moskva Hotel starting at 1000 on Wednesdays.

The commission has decided to change the form of leadership of its work and has elected three cochairmen: Medvedev, Stryukov, and Yarin. By a decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the request of the commission for the allocation of a special public prosecutor, an observer prosecutor, to provide assistance to the commission in the investigation of the issues charged to it, an independent public prosecutor in an observer capacity has been granted. He is answerable only to our commission. This public prosecutor, (Martenson), started work at the beginning of October. These are organization issues.

The commission's plenary sitting... At an open plenary sitting of the commission on 4 October 1989 the so-called Smirnov case was studied in detail. We listened to a report by Investigator (Dukhanin), a KGB colonel, who has been conducting this case—which was initiated earlier by the Gdlyan group—since December 1988. We listened to detailed information on Criminal Case No 1855811583, accusing Smirnov, which was prepared by Stukov and Aleksandrin. After a detailed discussion, the commission came to the unanimous conclusion that the cessation of the Smirnov case on 22 May 1989 and the presentation of public apologies was premature, since many episodes of this case either had not been examined fully or had not been examined at all. The commission did not find the behavior of the USSR prosecutor general and his deputy to be completely correct. Without the knowledge or participation of the commission, they carried out an independent investigation of the accusation by Gdlyan and Ivanov against Politburo member Ligachev. Neither did the commission find the behavior of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum's special sitting on this issue to be complete correct.

At the commission's second plenary sitting, (Lipatov), chairman of the Tashkent oblast court, and (Vcherov), public prosecutor of the Criminal and Judicial Administration of the USSR Procuracy, made reports. They participated in the so-called Bukhara case of (Muzafar), (Kondratov), and others. The reporters answered the commission's numerous questions and submitted many documents dealing with the 1985-87 period. Bukhara oblast inhabitants gave their explanations to the commission, acting as witnesses in the case of former party obkom First Secretary (Jafa) and others. The commission was informed of many facts and circumstances of the case, and documents were handed over which still require additional verification.

At the commission's next sitting a report by Butulvin, an Uzbekistan public prosecutor—former Uzbek public prosecutor from 1984 to 1987 who now is working as deputy public prosecutor of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic—was heard. The reporter also told of the great work of the procuracy bodies of the USSR and Uzbekistan, including the investigative group led by Gdlyan and Ivanov. However, he remarked on numerous omissions in the investigation and on the use in investigative work of means not permitted by law. Butulvin answered numerous questions from the commission members, including some by Comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov, people's deputies, who were present at the sitting.

The commission's next sitting was devoted to study of the (Khint) case, whose full rehabilitation by the USSR Supreme Court and the simultaneous issuing by this court of a private ruling on the investigation Gdlyan headed from 1982, gave rise to significant public repercussions. The commission took cognizance of the report by commission member Semenov, who has been studying the (Khint) case for a long time, and of the statement by (Romazanov), member of the USSR Supreme Court, who studied the (Khint) case from 1988 to 1989 on the order of the USSR Supreme Court. Both Semenov and Romazanov also answered numerous questions.

At the last closed sitting of the commission, a report was heard from (Martenson), the observer public prosecutor, on the criminal case initiated by the USSR Procuracy on facts of abuse and infringement of socialist legality permitted by investigators of the Gdlyan group in Uzbekistan. The commission did not find it possible at that time to request the suspension of this case or its cessation for the time of the commission's work.

In our work plan for next month are statements by Pugo, chairman of the People's Control Commission, and USSR Public Prosecutor (Galkin), who replaced Gdlyan as leader of the investigation group working in Uzbekistan, and other issues. A preliminary, full account of the commission's work will be made and presented to the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

On the commission's status: At the commission's creation, its status was not sufficiently determined. This created and continues to create certain difficulties in its work. At the first stage of the commission, we had difficulties in receiving the necessary materials and documents from the USSR Procuracy and from the CPSU Central Committee. Now, these difficulties have basically been overcome. However, so far (?the purely financially) sides have not been resolved and the opportunities of the commission to involve experts in its work, and by the way, without the aid of experts and criminologists, and even psychologists, the execution by a number of commission members of their duties in the work plan is made difficult. It should be borne in mind that more than half the members of the commission are Supreme Soviet deputies and also work in the Supreme Soviet's permanent committees and subcommittees and participate in the elaboration of many draft laws. We also are confronted by problems that go beyond the limits of the work of the former investigative group of Gdlyan.

On the relationship of the commission and people's deputies to the [word indistinct] of Comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov: Our commission has been set up at the decision of the Congress of People's Deputies. Its setting up was, in any case, agreed with by Gdlyan and Ivanov. At our first meetings we heard detailed reports made by Gdlyan and Ivanov and also by representatives of Zelenograd, Tushno, Leningrad, and committees for defending Gdlyan and Ivanov. At issue above all were the accusations which Gdlyan and Ivanov have been putting forward both in a published form and at numerous rallies and meetings against a great number of persons from the party and state leadership, and a number of current leaders and those retired. We know what the epoch of stagnation meant to us all and we do not suppose that Brezhnev's closest entourage consisted only of innocent people. Reality were not only Rashidovism, Odymovism, but also Udunovism, and Shchelokhovism.

I am not intending to continue this list, taking account of the principle of the presumption of innocence. However, no documents whatsoever confirming their evidence and accusations have been presented to the commission by either Gdlyan or Ivanov. At issue was the fact that the evidence is contained in the cases, for example in the case of Usmankhodzhayev. Not without resistance on the part of the USSR Procuracy, we insisted on inviting, with the aim of helping Gdlyan and Ivanov, a group of detectives, who had worked before together with them, to present these materials. The result of this work was extremely small and unconvincing. Now Gdlyan and Ivanov claim in the Soviet press literally the following—I quote the 10th edition of GORIZONT, organ of the CPSU Central Committee in Latvia—Gdlyan writes; So far I have been working here at ten, Blagoveschchensk street,in the detective department of the USSR Procuracy. However, if the administrative-command system, having lost a sense of reality, will move against common sense, staking all it has, we will have no other way out but to bring to the attention of the people with all secret documents at our command. Naturally, it is not possible to say where they are. For this is, as it were, the last lever which will automatically and promptly come into operation by itself. When one is at war, one acts likewise.

Paragraph 10 on page 20 says: The Supreme Soviet deputies can themselves appreciate how difficult it is from the point of view of ethics—not just ethics but also from the point of view of the law—to appraise this position of the senior staff of the USSR Procuracy, if they make allegations about top statesmen being privy to crime without providing any reports about—I have in mind the secret document they have—either to the congress commission or the USSR Procuracy. During the latest weeks, Gdlyan and Ivanov have embarked on the path of addressing public gross insults both to individual commission members and the entire commission as a whole even here in the building of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Quite recently, apart from the numerous groups for the defense of Gdlyan, a rather unusual group of USSR People's Deputies for the defense of Gdlyan has been set up. I do not know how many members it has but I think it is extremely incorrect that among people's deputies of the USSR there should be a commission [does not finish sentence]. For there is the Congress Commission which was unanimously set up and which is to study the work of the investigative group of the procuracy headed by Gdlyan. So, there is yet a second group of people's deputies for the defense of Gdlyan and Ivanov.

Our commission worked earlier under obvious pressure on the part of various committees and groups. There were public insults, threats by telephone, and threatening and frequently anonymous letters. As a chairman, I was given a particular honor and now, as a chairman of the commission I would like the Supreme Soviet to express its attitude also regarding the insults addressed to the commission in connection with People's Deputies Gdlyan and Ivanov and to the pressure which has evidently been organized for this end.

Now, for some general thoughts. According to the USSR Constitution, both the Supreme Court and the USSR Procuracy represent independent bodies the work of which should be subordinated only to the law. However, our country is only beginning such extremely important work as is the establishment of law-governed state. Since the Committee for Constitutional Supervision and the new constitution have not yet been set up, then for this period the establishment of special commissions—and the congress has legalized this—on individual and especially important problems and endowed them with all powers, is in our opinion necessary. So this is the report.

[Lukyanov] Comrades, is it necessary that we open a discussion on this report? Do we have to do it? This question should be presented to the Congress; the commission has been formed by the Congress. We should take this report into consideration and let the commission continue its work. We will, evidently, not permit any kind of pressure to be exerted on the commission from any particular side. Let it work!

[Unidentified deputy] The statement of the commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The commission considers it necessary to put to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies the question on consolidating the commission's status and asks the USSR Supreme Soviet to back us. The commission states once again that it considers the pressure from any particular side impermissible and for the purpose of discussing and adopting measures it turns the attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the actions of the USSR Procuracy officials and Deputy Gdlyan. A number of officials from the USSR Procuracy do not take into account the fact that they have been elected by the Congress of People's Deputies and that they are accountable to the Congress only and to its permanent working body, the USSR Supreme Soviet. Yes, our commission, which has the power entrusted to it by the Congress, has on more than one occasion officially turned with the request to abstain from the evaluations connected with the affair, the investigation of which was carried out by the group headed by Gdlyan and Ivanov.

However, Comrade Kravtsev, deputy USSR procurator general—who had been quite recently approved in this post by the USSR Supreme Soviet—ignored this request and spoke in the central mass media about the conclusion, which he did not have the right to do because this is exclusively a part of the competence of the Congress commission. Following our protest in connection with Kravtsev's action, no response of this kind ensued. Moreover, after this, Comrade Sukharen, USSR procurator general, just as Kravtsev did earlier, did not consider it necessary to inform the commission and delivered the conclusion at the CPSU Central Committee September plenum.

Of course, the party has the right to discuss all matters concerning its members, it may also, if it considers it necessary, listen to what any CPSU member has to say, and even publish statements by them: Smirnov's, for instance. As a party member, Comrade Sukharov is free to attend such discussions, but apart from being a CPSU member, he is also the procurator general of the USSR, and as such is accountable not to the CPSU, but to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Yet the Congress has empowered only its special commission to give a conclusion on the case. The question of how objective or unobjective is the information presented by Comrades Sukharev and Kravtsev has no significance here. The commission considers that the procurator general and his deputy have overstepped the limit of their competence and displayed blatant disrespect toward people's power, and that this has hardly served to normalize the sociopolitical situation surrounding this case. On the contrary, it is our view that those very actions gave rise to political tension among individual citizens, taking the forms of various kinds of demonstrations and rallies at which crude attacks were voiced against members of the commission, among others.

The commission considers it essential to reproach the mass information media for their one-sided and tendentious coverage of the substance of the case, which has become massive and single-minded in nature. The commission on the press in connection with Yeltsin's trip used those very same words. In other words, this is becoming the norm. The mass information media should be called upon to give full and objective coverage of the commission's activities. Instead of covering the commission's work on the (Khint) case, for instance, the press has begun printing articles on the Smirnov case one after the other.

I repeat: This is a statement on behalf of all the commission members. I also would like to add that the people currently are not interested in the subleties of our legal argument; criminals must be punished in conditions of equality before the law and of social justice. The people understand neither the position of the USSR procurator general nor that of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court on the cases investigated by Gdlyanis investigation group. If they fail to insure legal protection for people and legality, they must be replaced. This, for instance, is what my electors are demanding.

Ryzhkov Reports on Pensions

PM0311093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1-3

["Reliable Legal and Social Guarantees for Pension Provision for Citizens. Report by N.I. Ryzhkov at USSR Supreme Soviet Session."]

[Text] Comrades Peoples Deputies!

In the package of draft laws presented for examination by the present session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the proposed law, directly touching upon the vital interests of millions of Soviet people, has perhaps the greatest sociopolitical, economic, and human significance.

All our people, and primarily people who have an extreme need to improve their material position, those who have given the best years of their life to society, the elderly, invalids, and families which have lost the breadwinner, await with great hope the new USSR law on citizens' pension provision, the discussion of the draft of which we begin today.

The question of reviewing pension provision has matured for a long time. The foundations of the present legislation were laid over 30 years ago, and of course, a great deal in it has simply grown not just obsolete over such a long period of time, but directly contradicts the realities of life. In other words, the guarantees of pension provision from social consumption funds, proclaimed by the state and consolidated in our constitution, have essentially ceased to be that [guarantees].

Today, it must be said outright that all the difficult and complex problems which have not been tackled for decades and which ultimately have worsened the situation of the working man in our society—reducing his living standard—have reared up most acutely and to their full height before a person who has retired. Moreover, the bodies of power specially called upon to deal with the daily needs and requirements of pensioners in actual fact have not given them the attention they honestly deserved.

Now, the aim of our state, of all of society, is to implement fundamental social transformations. A great amount of work has begun to revive the lofty moral foundations, at the basis of which is concern for the man of labor, attention and compassion toward those who have left active matters and have reached a venerable age. It is a vastly important task, particularly if one considers that the life of a great number of people is to be improved— there are almost 60 million pensioners in our country.

The topicality of the fundamental renewal of pension legislation was stressed as far back as April 1985 when the CPSU Central Committee Plenum for the first time raised this question in all its trenchancy. Of course, for the sake of objectivity, it should be noted that some efforts were made before then to raise the minimum pensions of blue- and white-collar workers and collective farmers and their families. Such work has been carried out during the preparation of the draft law. Suffice it to say that last year alone, pension payments ran to R55,000 million, or compared to 1980, rose by 70 percent. Moreover, various benefits for war and labor veterans, invalids, and the families of fallen servicemen have been introduced.

Undoubtedly, the government understood and understands the whole acuteness of the problem of providing the population with pensions. But here, very probably as in no other sphere of public life, we depend in our decisions on economic possibilities and on the rates of economic development and efficiency. These precise factors have a direct bearing on the absolute size of pensions and on the dynamics of their growth, which is connected with growth in pay, increases in retail prices, and in the final analysis on changes in the living standards of the population in the country as a whole.

The figures which I will now cite need no commentary. In 1988 the average size of pensions received by blue- and white-collar workers was R.86; and that by collective farmers, R.54 per month. The sums, putting it bluntly, are more than modest. But the increasing cost of living eats away a significant part of even those sums. We don't have to embellish the situation here. And it was in consideration of its entire acuteness that we approached the formulation of a draft law.

To paint a fuller picture, to sufficiently explain the motives which decisively influenced the choice of precisely this variant of the draft law which has been put forward by us, I will cite some more data. Let's say that at the beginning of the current year every fifth inhabitant of our country was a pensioner and that for every 100 persons of capable working age there were 37 pensioners. Let's compare: In 1980, for 100 people capable of working there were only 32 pensioners. The increase, as we see, is a palpable one.

All these figures may be rather painful to hear, they may sound dry. But there are indeed behind them living people with their specific needs, desires, and requirements. More than 43 million people today receive old-age pensions. There are about 7 million pensions for invalids, and 6 million pensions for loss of breadwinner. This is just a formal division of them into categories, but in real life it is all much more complex. Tell me, can society be indifferent to the needs felt today by pensioners in families where there are no other able-bodied persons and where the pension is the only source of existence? But in our country 30 million people live in such conditions, and 10 million of them are single people.

In a word, comrades, the document we are discussing is especially topical, many millions of people pin their hopes on it. And we are obliged to adopt a law that justifies their hopes.

The significance of the new legislative act ought not to be reduced to a radical pension reform. This law is a component, and one of the first concrete steps towards implementation, of that strong social policy which we are conducting in accordance with party program decisions of the party.

At the very start of work on the draft law, which has taken place over the last 2 years, it was extremely important to define the aims and tasks which required resolving. The position of the pensioner in our society, the degree of his legal and economic protection, the criteria for establishing the level of pension in relation to conscientious and long years of toil, taking stock of the possibilities of the national economy and the development of the country's national wealth—these and many other approaches dictated the whole logic of shaping the new legislative act.

What were the chief questions that had to be resolved? First, to overcome the permanent gap between the material position of pensioners and the changing standard of living of the working population.

Second, to ensure strict observance of uniformity of approach in the social provision of various categories and groups of the population. A completely impermissible situation had arisen in the country where matters of establishing a pension for various categories of working people were regulated on the basis of almost 900 normative documents.

Third, to guarantee that the level of the pension is in line with the amount and quality of work rendered for the good of society. Finally, to achieve the resolution of a basic and generalizing matter, to effect a significant lift in the material position of pensioners and achieve a sharp reduction in the numbers of citizens who are inadequately provided for.

Moreover, the trends of growth in wages and incomes of the population and the change in retail prices and tariffs for services were taken into account. At the same time, the consumer budgets of various groups of working people and the structure of the incomes and expenditure of pensioners living in various regions of the country and in families that vary in composition were studied. The experience of socialist and developed capitalist countries has also been studied carefully.

Such a structure of the law and the main provisions following from it have been developed on a broad collective basis. It was supported both by central economic bodies, trade unions, ministries, and departments of the USSR and union republic councils of ministers and research institutes. I must stress in particular that some of the most important provisions of the draft law have been discussed and supported by many labor collectives.

Now a few words about the scientific substantiation of the draft submitted for your examination. As has already been mentioned, pension reform was preceded by a comprehensive and profound analysis of the living standard of all the categories of pensioners. Numerous academic and branch institutes and higher educational establishments were engaged into this most important work, in my view. While studying issues, the radical changes that are taking place in the country in the course of the perestroyka of the economy, administration, social life, and the expansion of the economic independence of labor collectives were taken into account.

The first step in the pension reform has already been made. The USSR law on urgent measures for improving the pension provision and social security of the population was brought into force beginning 1 October 1989. One must say right away that we agreed to take this step under the influence of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, it became possible because by that time the government had already done a certain amount of work in this field.

It seems to me that the Soviet people have given due appraisal to the main idea underlying this law: to deal with problems that have remained unresolved for decades. I have in mind making pension conditions and norms for collective farmers and workers in the state sector uniform, introducing a minimum old-age pension at the level of 100 percent of the minimum wage, resolving the matter of removing restrictions on the payment of pensions to workers and craftsmen from 1 Jan 1990, and improving the material position of war and labor veterans and invalids, their families, and invalids from childhood. Overall expenditure for these purposes comprises R6.5 bilion per year, as is known.

Thus, the first step in pension reform has been taken, but we must embark on radical solutions to this most complex, and as I have already said, seriously neglected problem in our society. Moreover we agree with those opinions systematically being raised in our society about the need for radical transformations in pension provision for the country's population.

If one evaluates the presented draft law from this angle, then evidently, one should begin from the fact that the pension system, as proposed, will encompass all disabled citizens of the country. For this, the establishment of two, I stress two, types of pension have been envisioned—the previously functioning work pensions and the social ones newly being introduced.

When we submitted one version of the draft law for discussion by work collectives, the keenest discussions developed over work pensions. As is known, these are pensions for old age, invalidity, long service, and for loss of breadwinner.

They are connected with work in the state and cooperative sectors, and also with individual labor activity.

So what were the disputes caused by? First and foremost by the fact that during the preparation of the draft law many specialists and scholars were introducing proposals on the pensionable age in order to set pensions for men at 65 years and women at 57-58 years. I ought to say that at first glance all of this was based on such weighty arguments as increased life expectancy, improved working conditions and production infrastructure which have a positive influence on increasing a person's ability to work. And as is the custom now in our country, references were made to practices abroad. For example, in the United States, Canada, and Japan men and women became pensioners at the age of 65; in Britain and the GDR men also start at the age of 65, while women start at the age of 60; and in the CSSR men start at the age of 60 and women at the age of 57. In a word, quite a few examples were cited where the boundaries of pensionable age are considerably higher than in our country.

We approached such recommendations with great care. The government and AUCCTU carefully considered the most diverse variants of such proposals. And as I think, we came to the only correct conclusion: Objectively, the conditions have not yet been created in the country that would give weighty grounds for increasing the boundaries of pensionable age. Therefore the government considers, and, as it seems to me, the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will support us, that it is essential to leave the age for going on pension the same: that is, 55 years for women, and 60 years for men.

In making such a decision, we are also taking into account yet another circumstance of no little importance. When the Bill was being drafted, various kinds of rumors and not always well-considered statements by certain of the mass information media were causing tension in a number of regions of the country, especially in the coal fields, at enterprise of the metallurgical, chemical, and other industries, where, even a hint of change in the pensionable age is taken most keenly. I think today we can state most definitely: That which is envisaged in the draft law corresponds to the working people's wishes.

Now I will move on to what is the core of the whole draft law, to the new **mechanism for the calculation of pensions.** The basic requirements here flowed from the need to cut away everything that was unnecessary—the accreted and the inert, which had accumulated over many decades of so-called "improvement" of pension matters, and at the same time to take all the best provided it is applicable to our conditions, from our own and world practice. What was important were the real, and to the maximum possible degree optimal, approaches to the elaboration of this mechanism.

Several options were considered. We settled on the one in which, in our view, two basic aspects are taken fully into account—length of service and the size of material reward for work done. The mechanism being proposed is sufficiently universal and flexible and is calculated for a lengthy period of the law being in operation. And so the first, and perhaps, the most important aspect is that each person, beforehand, sometimes even several years beforehand, as a matter of course, can estimate from which earnings his pension will be calculated. Such is reality. One cannot get away from it anywhere. According to the rules introduced in 1956, calculation, as is known, was done on the basis of earnings for any consecutive 5 years of the last 10 years, or earnings for the last year in work.

The result of this method of determining the size of pension is public knowledge. Most often any, sometimes even impermissible, opportunities for sharply increasing earnings in the last year of labor activities were widely used to obtain the highest possible pension. The result was that one individual may have worked badly most of his life but showed cunning in the last year, while another who has worked honestly eventually gets a smaller pension than the first individual. Is this just? Absolutely not. Therefore, the draft law proposes to calculate pensions on the basis of earnings for a longer period: For any consecutive 5 years of the last 15 years.

The second social injustice which we resolutely decided to do away with in the new draft law concerns establishing a relationship between the size of a pension and the overall length of service. A differentiated scale is being introduced here. Its essence could be expressed briefly: The longer and the better the individual works, the bigger is his pension.

But before speaking about the differentiated scale we should clarify that the initial "starting" norm of a pension will be increased, according to the draft law. This has been done to avoid a possible decrease in the level of pensions in connection with the transition to the determination of average monthly earnings over 5 years.

Hence the base rate for old age pensions is being raised to 55 percent of pay, instead of the 50 percent according to the provision currently in force. And henceforth, the principle of differentiation begins to operate. It has to be examined from two aspects. The first concerns length of service. At present, no matter how long a person works, 25 years or 45 years, the rate of his pension is practicaly the same. It is proposed to radically change, to speak bluntly, this unjust condition. The draft provides that to receive pensions on a common basis women must have a length of service of 20 years and men 25 years. For each subsequent year of work provision has been made for an addition of 1 percent of pay to be made supplementary to the base pension rate. It is proposed to set the maximum possible pension at a scale of 75 percent of pay.

Now the second aspect of the differentiated scale. It relates to the definition of the size of the pension depending on earnings. Minimum pay has been taken as the basis here. Now, as is known, this is R70. And so, minimum pay is R70. The question is what [pay] limit should be taken for the calculation of the size of pensions without any kind of reducing coefficients? We feel that it is possible to stay with four time the minimum pay—that is, R280.

How is this sum justified? First and foremost by the fact that it is higher than average pay in the national economy which last year comprised R220. That is the first thing. And, secondly, it is a a level of a rational consumer budget which we can approach in 1993.

So what then is being proposed if pay exceeds R280? Well, this is where a system of coefficients comes into play, that is out of each successive R70 a portion at the rate of 85 percent, then 70 percent, and so on up to 15 percent, is calculated. But here in all cases the overall earnings which will be taken to define the pensions should not be more than ten times the minimum pay. This can be illustrated by the following examples.

Example 1

With a minimum pay of R70 the earnings for the calculation of pensions will be calculated at the following rates:

Size of Pay	Taken Into Account for Setting Pensions	Earnings Taken for the Calculation of Pensions	Size of Pensions With 40-45 Years Service (75 Percent)
R280 (70x4)	100 percent	280	210
350	280 plus (70x0.85)	339.5	255
420	339.5 plus (70x0.7)	388.5	291
490	388.5 plus (70x0.55)	427	320
560	427 plus (70x0.4)	455	341
630	455 plus (70x0.25)	472.5	354

700	472.5 plus (70x0.15)	483	362

With a minimum of R80 earnings will be calculated as follows:

Size of Pay	Taken Into Account for Setting Pensions	Earnings Taken for the Calculation of Pensions	Size of Pensions With 40-45 Years Service (75 Percent)
R320 (80x4)	100 percent	320	240
400	320 plus (80x0.85)	388	291
480	388 plus (80x0.70)	444	333
560	444 plus (80x0.55)	488	366
640	488 plus (80x0.40)	520	390
720	520 plus (80x0.25)	540	405
800	540 plus (80x0.15)	552	414

These examples graphically show the flexibility of the method ofdetermining pensions, based on calculation of their amount from the overall length of service and level of pay. And here it is all based on minimum pay, which is always the object of society's close attention, and, undoubtedly, will consistently rise with the growth of the efficiency of our economy. This means that pensions of all levels will grow together proportionately, including the minimum labor pension and social pensions, whose amount is tightly linked with the level of minimum pay. The whole proposed mechanism of fixing the amounts of payments is aimed precisely at this, at achieving a pension provision commensurate with each person's labor contribution and consequently a just one.

Let me say a few words about the legitimacy of the upper limit of pay for determining the size of a pension, estimate at ten times the minimum wage. Widely varying proposals were also made on this issue. Sums of R300, R400 and R500 were given, but nevertheless, the level of R700, under today's conditions, has been chosen in the draft law. Calculations showed that this sum takes fullest account of the interests of the most varied categories of working people and, above all, highly-qualified specialists and workers, including miners, iron and steel workers, drivers of heavy goods vehicles, and workers employed in regions with harsh climatic conditions. In short, all those whose earnings are significantly higher than average.

One of the factors that characterize the flexibility of the mechanism that has been worked out is the possibility of raising pensions in line with the growth of pay and with changes in the cost-of-living index. In other words, every year pensions will go up taking account of the **dynamics** of wages and prices, but by no less than 2 percent of a pensioner's earnings. This is the first time such a system has been introduced in our practice.

Summing up what has been said, to a certain extent, I would like to again stress the fundamental newness of the proposed mechanism for regulating the size of pensions, the possibility of its functioning for a lengthy period and, most importantly, its direct link with overall length of service and with the growth of pay in accordance with the rise in the population's living standards.

I cannot fail to say here a few words on a matter which perhaps does not directly relate to the mechanism of regulating the size of a pension, but which directly influences it. What I have in mind is a regional coefficient. At present it is practically left out of account in calculating pensions, which provokes justified compalints from working people. In the draft law this injustice is removed: regional coefficients will now be taken into account in determining the size of pensions.

Comrades! It is also proposed to introduce in the draft law substantial changes in the system of **favored pension provision.** The essence of the changes is to provide benefits only to those who are really engaged in work with heavy and harmful working conditions. At the same time the aim is being pursued to arouse enterprises by economic methods to improve these conditions by way of introducing new equipment and technology, and to reduce the numbers of personnel engaged in such work.

In accordance with the draft it is envisioned to establish pensions on favored terms depending on production or the kinds of work and also on indices of harmfulness and severity, determined according to the results of an attestation of workplaces. Here the practice of establishing favored pension provision according to the so-called schedules no. 1 and 2, which has proved its worth, is maintained. At the same time, as distinct from current procedure, the indicators of harmfulness and severity of work should be universal to the whole national economy and without being rigidly bound to separate sectors as has been done until now.

Of course, it is important to strictly keep an eye on the observance of lawful rights to a privileged pension; on the quality of conducting job definitions at enterprises and organizations; and to prepare proposals in timely fashion on perfecting the entire formulation of the matter. The question is an important one. Control and implementation of work in that direction is the responsibility of bodies of state expert opinion on working conditions which are being newly created for such aims. This must be a very authoritative and objective organization. Working within it, it is supposed, will be scholars, medical workers, and highly- qualified specialists from sectors of the national economy. The chief task of these bodies is to provide an objective appraisal of working conditions at enterprises.

During the process of working through the question of providing privileged pensions various views were expressed on it being expedient to retain the age at which one can receive a pension, and on the required length of service. Having weighed all the pros and cons, the government thinks it essential to leave the presently-functioning criteria without changes. The pensionable age for men and women employed in particularly heavy and harmful work is set correspondingly at 50 and 45 years. The requirement for the length of service in such jobs is also being retained. For men, this is 10 years, and for women, 7.5 years.

As for other jobs with harmful and heavy working conditions—list no. 2, that is, such jobs which can be improved through organizational, technical, and other factors, then for persons involved in such types of work privileged pensions will be affixed as before: at 55 years for men and 50 years for women.

At the same time, there is a proposal that an enterprise must, before a worker reaches pensionable age, transfer from its own wages fund to the USSR Pension Fund contributions covering one-half of the expenditure on the payment of the future pension. This is, in our view, a good incentive which encourages a workers' collective to concern itself with production conditions and to reduce the number of personnel engaged in harmful or arduous work.

One should add to what has been said that a completely new provision is envisoned in the system of privileged pensions. We are talking about a proportional reduction in the age threshold for going on pension for those employees who have no complete length of service according to lists 1 and 2, but who do have at least a half of such a length of service.

In the main I have enumerated everything regarding the provision of privileged pensions in the traditional sense. But we believe that in this important matter, which affects the interests of millions of Soviet people, possible peculiar aspects of production work should also be taken into account. After all, not all types of work can be envisoned in the privileged pension lists. Life changes and it will bring forward all kinds of new conditions. It might happen that, at a particular production sector, pension privileges should be established in accordance with specific circumstances. After all, that is the right of an enterprise. Such possibilities are granted by the draft law.

I have to say that proposals have been worked out recently which take into account the special working conditions of persons who work a full day on underground and open-cast mining work, extracting coal, shale, ore and other minerals, and building pits and mines. The government is submitting a proposal to provide them with the right to a pension regardless of age if they were engaged in this work for not less than 25 years.

It is intended to allocate pensions for the personnel of mine rescue units on the same favored terms. For workers of leading professions—breakage face mining workers, drillers, drivers of mining extraction machinery, and some others, pensions will be allocated on reaching 45 years of age, given a length of service of no less than 20 years in such work.

During the preparation of the draft law, the question quite rightly arose about what to do with some categories of workers whose work is made complex not by harmful or heavy conditions, but by natural, emotional, and other unfavorable factors. They appear in the currently operating schedules for favored pensions. Now, however, after many consultations, expert appraisals, and discussion in labor collectives, the decision has been made to introduce for them, and also for staff in a number of other professions and kinds of work, **length of service pensions.** In essence, this is one of the kinds of labor pensions intended for those who are engaged in work which leads to a loss of professional ability to work before reaching the age which confers the right to an old-age pension. What I have in mind, for example, is staff of the flight and test-flight personnel of civil aviation, geologists, sailing personnel of the maritime and river fleet, and the fleet of the fishing industry, staff on the rolling stock of railway transport, workers and foremen in the procurement of timber, and others.

The requirement for this kind of pension to be set is the same for all—a definite length of service in accordance with profession. Let's say, a civil aviation pilot must have 25 years flying work. Moreover, the size of a long-service pension will be estimated in the same way as is done when fixing old-age pensions.

During work on the draft law, the question of the manner of using the **work of pensioners** and of providing material incentives for it was thoroughly studied. Conflicting views were expressed: Some proposed that pensions and wages should be paid to all working pensioners in full, without any restrictions at all. Others, on the contrary, thought it necessary to limit as far as possible the number of working pensioners to whom a pension and wage should be paid in full. Still others insisted that this problem should be resolved taking into account the conditions of specific regions and industries.

The government carefully examined all points of view, including the emerging demographic situation both in the country as a whole and in individual regions, the level to which various industries are provided with qualified staff, and the economic opportunities and expediency of involving pensioners in work.

As a result, it has been deemed necessary at the present stage of the country's economic and social development to pay both pensions and wages in full to workers, foremen, teachers and doctors in rural localities, medium-level medical staff, and to all working pensioners who took part in the Great Patriotic War.

For all others, the sum total of pension and wage should not exceed the wage received prior to the setting up of the pension. We already apply this procedure, for example, with regard to retired servicemen.

But I would like to note this: This is not a rigid condition. Taking into account the diversity of situations taking shape with labor resources in the regions and at individual enterprises, the government considers it necessary to grant the right to the union republics, to enterprises and organizations to resolve for themselves the question of the payment of pensions to working pensioners in conditions other than those envisioned by the draft law. The only difference is that they must do this at the expense of their own resources.

Comrades! The need for greater concern about **war and labor invalids** was stressed at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, in labor collectives, and in the press. We now have more than 6 million of them. Fully sharing the deputies' opinion, the government sees the solution of the problem in the implementation of a well-thought out set of measures on improving the living conditions and everyday life of this category of citizens. There is no small number of issues demanding resolution here. But of all their diversity we are today examining only one—the provision of pensions.

The same principles which are envisioned in the draft new law for old age pensioners apply to the determination of the size of pensions for invalids. At the same time, additional privileges are also being established. Thus it is proposed to pay group 1 invalids an increase for care, required by them, at the rate of the social pension which comprises 50 percent of the minimum old age pension. The same right is granted to group 2 invalids without families who need outside help. The material position of war invalids will be improved considerably. Those of them who continued working and earned an old-age pension will receive, in addition to that, a supplement amounting to the minimum disability pension.

The policy of improving the material position of **families which have lost their bread-winner** is pursued consistently in the bill. This applies primarily to children. It is intended to maintain the basic conditions and principles for allocating pensions to such families. Pensions in the event of the loss of the bread-winner will be allocated at the level of 30 percent of his earnings for each member of the family who is incapable of work, but not less than one-half of the minimum old-age pension. It is proposed to fix the overall level of the pension for all members of the family who are incapable of work at 100 percent of the bread-winners' earnings. It is envisioned that the pension for children who have lost both parents, meaning total orphans, will be fixed at double the norm (60 percent).

The period of payment of such pensions to students at vocational training and technical colleges and higher education establishments is defined as lasting until study at those educational establishments is finished. The maximum age for receipt of a pension during the period of study, which is today limited to 18 years, is increased to 23 years. As a result, the material position of almost 7 million people who are currently receiving pensions for the loss of a bread-winner will be improved.

Comrades, one should dwell on issues of pension provision for **women.** Firstly, as now, women will have the right to a pension 5 years earlier than men and with a period of employment which is the same number of years less. Secondly, for an identical period of employment the pension norm for women will be 5 percent higher than for men.

For Example, a woman with 30 years of work will receive a pension based on 65 percent of her earnings, against 60 percent for me. Thirdly, it is proposed to include in the length of service of a nonworking mother the time spent looking after young children in the age-group up to 3 years, limiting only the total length of this period to 6 years. I stress that this is a principally new clause.

The age privilege for mothers with many children, who have given birth to and brought up 5 and more children, is being retained. The right to an old-age pension is given to them when they reach the age of 50. The same procedure for receiving a pension is being established for mothers who have children who have been invalids from infancy.

Also taken into account in the new legislative act have been special conditions of residence of wives of officers and servicemen with additional service. It is proposed that they have included in their length of service, but not more than 10 years, the period of residence in places where there was no possibility of obtaining work in their professional field.

As has already been noted, the draft law raises substantially the **role and significance of length of service** in the system of pension provision. It is the length of service which forms the basis of the right to a work pension and which is the determining condition when establishing the level of pension provision for every worker.

Of course today at a time of radical restructuring of the way the economy is run, socially useful labor, by its content, is becoming more and more diverse. The draft law takes into account this most important circumstance.

All work undertaken under labor contracts at any enterprise or organization, regardless of the form of ownership and management will be included in the length of service. The question with regard to work based on membership of collective farms and other cooperatives, is also being resolved in a similar manner.

The draft law expands, in comparison with the existing procedure, the sphere of labor and other activity which is counted in the length of service when a pension is awarded. Thus, it is proposed to include in the pensionable length of service the individual labor activity of citizens, including those employed in a lease-holders' collective or a peasant holding. It is envisioned that these citizens will pay contributions to the state social insurance in accordance with the statues of the law. It is also envisioned to include in the length of service the time spent looking after some categories of persons who are unable to work.

There are other features, too. Now, let us say, time spent studying at technical colleges or higher educational establishments is not included in the length of service except for cases where entry to these educational establishments is preceded by work. It is propos3d to remove all previous restrictions. Time spent studying at higher educational establishments, technical colleges, and other educational establishments training specialists for various spheres of activity is equated with socially useful labor. I think that that is completely the correct approach.

I shall mention especially that in the document presented for examination by the session there are no concrete proposals on questions of pension provision for servicemen. A relevant draft law on this will be introduced into the USSR Supreme Soviet. Its preparation is being completed.

Comrades deputies! Proceeding from the principles of the universality of pension provision, of humanity and social justice, the government and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] present the proposal on the introduction of a special type of material provision of citizens—**social pensions.**

They are being established for those who for one reason or another never acquired the right to a labor pension. Such pensioners also comprise, in particular, invalids since childhood. The overall number of people who have the right to such pension provision amounts to 1.5 million. The size of social pensions depends on various factors, incuding the degree of the loss of ability to work. Thus, for invalids of group 1, invalids from childhood, and child-invalids up to 16 years old, it is proposed to fix social pensions at a rate of 100 percent of the minimum old age pension: for invalids of group 2, women who have reached 55 years, and men 60 years, and also for children in the case of the loss of the bread-winner per child—50 percent of the minimum old age pensions. For invalids of group 3 it is intended to establish social pensions at the rate of 30 percent of the minimal old age payment.

The sizes of social pensions indicated are not coincidental. In determining them, we proceeded from the fact that this is only a kind of minimal monetary assistance guaranteed by the state. It can in turn be significantly increased by way of the involvement, concern, and varied support for public organizations, local soviets of people's deputies, and labor collectives. They are fully endowed with these rights.

In proposing the new draft law, we have taken into account the fact that for all pensioners, also including those who will be going into a pension in the period when the law will not yet have been put into effect, it will be necessary to do a recalculation of pensions fixed previously. This will take place at the pensioner's choice.

To determine initial average monthly earnings for setting the pension, it may be calculated from the 5 years preceding 1 January 1991 or from the 5-year period preceding the setting of the pension. But it is also possible to proceed from the earnings on the basis of which the pension was set previously. The present law will be adopted in its proposed form or with amendments and addendums—the Supreme Soviet is to decide. But whatever happens, a huge amount of work lies ahead. To a certain extent it has already started. The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision in which the tasks of the social security bodies in carrying out all preparatory measures are determined.

Comrades! Guarantees of material provision for veterans of labor, war, and other citizens who are unfit for work at a union level should be regarded as an obligatory condition of social protection of all members of our society, whose care depends primarily on the economic potential of the state. But within the framework of the country these guarantees must not be limited to efforts emanating just from the center. In fact, our potential is significantly higher.

The broadening of economic independence of **union and autonomous republics and local soviets of people's deputies** enables them to do much from their own resources, including establishing supplementary forms of material provision for pensioners and other citizens unfit for work. The more so, since on the ground it is possible to act taking account of the living conditions, state of health, family situation, and wishes of people requiring the aid of the bodies of authority or the labor collective.

The bill grants the right to union and autonomous republics to provide for additional payments on all forms of pension to pensioners and invalids from the resources in the relevant budgets, in accordance with the change in the cost of living and the growth in wages; to introduce supplements to pensions for looking after pensioners living alone, and other more favorable conditions for payment of pensions to working pensioners; to establish personal and early pensions, various benefits for medical services for pensioners, and benefits to pay for living space and public utilities; to permit discounts off the cost of fuel, foodstuffs, clothing, and other essential goods. This list of benefits and services is not exhaustive. The republics are also entitled to adopt other decisions aimed at improving the living and working conditions of pensioners, primarily of those who are less well provided for and living alone, as well as young orphans and invalids.

Such concerns must not pass by the labor collectives, either. **The transition of enterprises** to financial autonomy and the constantly rising growth in their revenue also make it possible to solve many issues concerned with improving the living conditions of labor veterans with the enterprises own resources. This is taken into account in the bill. Enterprises are endowed with the right to establish independently additional payments on pensions, taking account of the employee's labor contribution and the length of his period of employment, for the resources intended for paying for labor; to introduce early pensions for empoloyees engaged in unfavorable working conditions, if they do not enjoy the right to privileged pension provision; to pay out other supplements and make other additional payments, and also to establish various kinds of benefit to pay for public utilities and community services with resources intended for social development.

Comrades! One of the most important issues of the forthcoming pension reform is its **financing.** According to the preliminary calculations, we will need R29 billion for these purposes. This is in addition to the R6.5 billion allocated for the realization of the law that has already been adopted on urgent measures for improvement of the pension provision.

One can judge the scale of the impending expenditures by the following comparison: During the entire tenth 5-year plan the expenditure on the centralized measures of the state for improving the standard of life of the people were only R15 billion. In the current 5-year plan R16 billion has been stipulated for it. Now the state is going for R29 billion. One should remember that the figures I have quoted for the tenth and the current 5-year plans, are inclusive not only of the social provision, but of all the expenses of the state that are associated with the increase of wages, the abolition and reduction of taxes for low-paid groups of workers, reinforcement of help to families with children, and the improvement of medical services to the population.

Now, as we see, just the pension reform alone will require resources equal to the expenditures on all the centralized measures of the state for the improvement of the standard of living of the people for the past two 5-year plans.

At present the budget of the state insurance and the centralized fund of the social insurance of the collective farm workers that are made up by means of appropriate contributions by the enterprises and collective farms, and also the resources of the state budget, are the sources of the payments of pensions.

The bill proposes creating instead of disparate sources of finance a single **countrywide pensions fund** which will pay for all the expenditure connected with handing out pensions. This fund will be formed from the resources allocated by enterprises, organizations, collective farms, and other cooperatives for the purposes of social insurance according to the established rates and also from insurance contributions of the citizens engaged in individual labor activity, and from the state budget resources.

A considerable increase in the size of pensions and the spending connected with it entails an increase in the rates of social insurance contributions of enterprises and organisations. Calculations have shown that in order to introduce new pensions it will be necessary to increase contributions for these purposes on average from 12 to 30 percent of the wage fund. About the same percentage of contributions has been set in a number of socialist and developed capitalist countries. At the same time, in many of them, employees themselves take part in providing social insurance. The total size of contributions amounts, for example, in Bulgaria to 30 percent, in the GDR and Britain to 32 percent, in the FRG 36 percent, in France and Italy 40 percent each.

In connection with the enormous scale of the pension reform and the need to allocate major resources for its implementation, it is desirable, in our view, to carry out the entire range of the measures that are being planned on a stage-by-stage basis starting 1 January 1991 and to complete this work in 1992.

As far as the specific measures which need to be implemented at each of the stages during these years are concerned, they are to be determined by the Supreme Soviet and the government once the law has been adopted.

If the draft law is approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet at its first reading, it would be advisable to publish it as quickly as possible for nationwide discussion.

Comrades deputies! A detailed and deep discussion of the plan for next year has clearly shown how rigid is the connection between the social reorientation of the economy and the complex of problems of fundamentally improving the effectiveness of public-sector production and the further development of radical economic reform. It is precisely the direct interconnection between an active social policy and effective management in all spheres of the economy which should become the main direction of our work in the thirteenth 5-year plan. You and I can clearly see the tasks of the state plan for 1990, and it must be said that these are very difficult questions for all branches of the national economy. They comprise an objective, dialectically contradictory combination, when the effectiveness of production and the degree of social security of the population need to provided for in optimum balance over a period of many long years.

A decision has been adopted at this session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the allocation in 1990 of budget resources to the volume of R13.4 billion for carrying out centralized measures to raise the ssliving standard of the people. That means that altogether by the end of next year the expenditure of the state on these aims for 5 years will total over R26 billion, or will rise against similar expenses in the eleventh 5-year plan period and against the initial plan of the current year by R10 billion.

The adoption of a new pension law and some other measures to step up the populations' social protection, decisions on which have already been adopted and which should be completed in the next 5-year plan period, provide for an overall expenditure in these areas alone by the end of 1995 amounting to a minimum of R41-43 billion.

I should say that this is still not all. According to preliminary estimates expenditure from centralized sources in the next 5-year plan period could more than double compared with the current 5-year plan period.

Now, comrades, let us compare the following figures: In this 5-year plan period we shall—compared with the eleventh 5-year plan period—increase payments from centralized funds by R10 billion and have in 1990 a state budget deficit of R60 billion, a monetary issue of almost R10 billion and a state debt of R400 billion. It is clear from this how effectively we need to work in the coming 5-year plan period in order to improve the economy, to remove these deficits, and at the same time to increase by R30 billion the expenditure on centralized measures to raise the people's living standard. In this connection it is necessary to also relieve the population's postponed demand for goods and services—otherwise we shall not be able to stabilize the consumer market.

The government has carried out all the calculations necessary in the process of preparing the draft main guidelines for 1991-95. The following picture is formed: If, during the current 5-year plan, the country ensures an increase in the resources of the accumulation and nonproduction construction fund of R100 billion, and 26 percent of them go to pay for the expenses of centralized projects, then in the thirteenth 5-year plan such an increase in the consumption and nonproduction construction fund must be not less than R154 billion in comparable prices, that is, increased by a half, and of this increase almost 40 percent will go to pay for the decisions being adopted by us today.

At the same time national income resources, ensuring expanded reproduction, will fall during the current 5-year plan by more than R17 billion and in the next 5-year plan by another R8 billion.

The way out of this scissors movement is provided only by efficient management in the new economic milieu on the basis of those laws which we are to adopt.

The general parameters of this efficiency, which must cover the whole economy, including enterprises, organizations, collective and state farms, are known and have been evaluated by us today.

Before us lies the task of at least doubling growth rates, I stress, specifically the growth rates of labor productivity in all spheres of the economy, and achieving a breakthrough in the use of the active production potential and, instead of the universal lowering of the output-capial ratio, going over to raising it. In other words, instead of a fall in the output-capital ratio in the national economy as a whole during the current 5-year plan of 8.5 percent, it is necessary to ensure its growth by a minimum of 5 percent.

Further, the rate of reduction of materials inputs in public-sector and any specific form of production should be doubled. This leads to a task of reducing in the thirteenth 5-year plan the metal content of national income by 20 percent and its energy content by up to 12-13 percent.

Finaly, one would particularly need to speak about raising the effectiveness of production capital investments or reducing specific capital costs per unit of commissioned capacity. You will have, naturally, noted my words to the effect that we cannot in conditions of such a drastic social reorientation of the economy, restrain that section of the national income which creates the resources for expanded reproduction from declining. It is falling in absolute terms and also as a relative percentage. This, arguably, leads to the most complex task of the thirteenth 5-year plan—while imposing order in the sphere of investments to achieve an increase in the effectiveness of utilizing production capital investments of no less than 50 percent against today's level.

From these tasks it follows that we must increase the ratio of Group "B" in overall volume of industrial production by 1995 to 33 percent against the 28 percent earmarked for next year. We must at least, over the coming 5-year plan period, double the growth of retail trade turnover and increase the growth of paid services to the population by 70 percent. I draw your attention precisely to the growth since only they, together with other financial-economic measures of tying up ready money, will enable us to start to relieve the deferred demand of the population.

Thus, comrade deputies, if we want our pension law and all the other major social measures to serve the good of the people, and not to unleash a spiral of inflation, nor to lead to a destabilization of the economy as a whole then we must see the second part of this global dialectical process—efficiency, structural improvements, and scientific and technical progress.

Today we should honestly tell ourselves and the people: if we do not earn these resources, then there will be nothing to distribute. With mere good intentions divorced from real achievements in the country's economic development we can only worsen the situation of those groups of the population about which we are now showing general concern.

I could conclude my speech with this. But I must talk about something which today troubles the whole of society and influences the development of the economy in an extremely negative fashion, creating focuses of tension which destablize the situation in the national economy. Whatever complexion the so-called labor conflicts, or in other words, strikes, may have today, and moreover whatever slogans and demands are put forward, all of them, in the final analysis, restrict the state's possibilities in the resolution of the most urgent social problems. The greatest shame of all is that primarily they hurt the poorly-off groups of our society.

We have over 60 million pensioners, 10 million of them being single. With hope they receive the changes in their material situation which are being planned and which have already begun to be implemented in this country. But I repeat, they are alarmed most of all by the question of whether the state can provide them with social security and guarantee them a peaceful and sufficiently secure old age.

Deeply understanding the concern of this most vulnerable part of our citizens, the government is turning to all the working people of the country. Act with due consideration, do everything you can in order that old people, children, invalids, families who have lost their breadwinner, everyone who is unable to lead an active working life may be sure of their future. I am asking you to consider the draft law "On Provision of Pensions for Citizens in the USSR" proposed by the government and the AUCCTU.

Moscow TV Carries 2 Nov Supreme Soviet Session

1600 GMT

LD0211173489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 2 November begins carrying a recorded relay of the 2 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. This session is chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev.

At 1601 GMT Gorbachev declares the session open. He notes that on the agenda is the Draft Law on Pensions.

At 1603 GMT Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers begins to deliver his report on the Draft Law on Pensions.

At 1700 GMT Ryzhkov ends his report. Ryzhkov says he would prefer to take questions after a preparation period, as the matters under discussion are of great importance. The relay concludes at 1702 GMT.

At 1703 GMT the announcer says the relay will resume in 15 minutes.

1716 GMT

LD0211182489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1716 GMT on 2 November resumes its recorded relay of the 2 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin. The floor is given to Nikolay Nikolayevich Gritsenko, chairman of the Social Protection, Labor, Wages, Prices, and Taxation Commission.

At 1717 GMT Gritsenko says he is to report on his commission's findings. He notes 250 proposals have been examined by the working group; the draft law proposed reflects those proposals. Gritsenko reports the draft law is more socially just and solves problems in the pension system, to a considerable extent, reflecting the strong social policy promulgated at the party congress and conference.

Gritsenko says extra measures must be elaborated for pensions for former servicemen, for people living in areas with pay coefficients, for people combining two or more jobs, and for others. A joint working commission of members from different committees could be formed to handle this, he notes, listing proposed members and specialists. Gritsenko says the computer centers at the council of ministers, the AUCCTU and the state labor committee could be used to process a large amount of information, adding that the draft will be published in the press for further debate.

At 1726 GMT AUCCTU secretary Galina Fedorovna Sukhoruchenkova takes the floor. She says AUCCTU specialists were closely involved in drawing up the draft law on pensions, noting the law marks a new departure in that for the first time pensions will be guaranteed for everyone, including those who currently live on state benefits. She says the payment mechanism is more fair, with the length of service playing a greater role.

At 1730 GMT Sukhoruchenkova says greater differentiation in pension payments is now guaranteed. She criticizes the number of privileged pensions paid today, saying special pensions for people in hazardous jobs are put in order by the draft law, abolishing anomalies. The law provides for annual pension increases in line both with the cost of living and the rise in wages. The law provides those unfit for work with a certain level of income; the republics can then pay additional amounts.

At 1736 GMT she notes the AUCCTU believes that the law will not reduce pension rights for any groups; guarantees must be given for group 1 and 2 citizens however. She says the AUCCTU's proposal of a minimum pension at level of minimum wage has been included in the draft. Some other proposals have not been implemented: these can be discussed further. The AUCCTU asks that the Supreme Soviet give the draft its first reading and then publish it for nationwide debate.

At 1739 GMT Sukhoruchenkova finishes speaking.

At 1740 GMT Gorbachev says some deputies suggest handing over proposals and observations to the working group and dealing with questions at the second reading. He says nationwide debate is ahead and deputies' questions will be more appropriate after that stage. The deputies agree.

At 1742 GMT an unidentified deputy comes to the microphone to say some questions must be re-examined before publication of the draft. He asks if there should be separate provisions for soldiers, for example, rather than a single pension system. He adds that once the draft is published letters will come pouring in. There must be some kind of secretarial assistance for the deputies, as they are already overburdened. To implement the pension changes, the departments concerned must be equipped with modern machinery. Deputies need more information.

At 1748 GMT a deputy speaks from his seat in support of the previous speaker. He says the wording of the draft could be misunderstood in some places; a further review in therefore essential before publication.

At 1750 GMT Deputy Aleksandr Yakovlevich Neumyvakin, member of the Invalid Committee, suggests improvements on pensions for the blind. Another point concerning invalids is questioned.

At 1751 GMT Deputy Khallik from the floor raises the issue of privileged pensions; saying milkmaids deserve pensions at the age of 50 due to their hard work.

At 1753 GMT Deputy Boris Ilich Oleynik requests a special team be sent to Donetsk Oblast to tackle social questions in connection with the draft law.

At 1753 GMT unidentified deputy says shepherds should also be given privileged pensions.

At 1754 GMT Deputy Yevtushenko questions provisions on rehabilitated citizens. The detail of which wages count toward their pensions should be clarified.

At 1756 GMT an unidentified deputy says sailors and fishermen are demanding pensions at the age of 50, since they work a 12-hour day.

At 1757 GMT an unidentified deputy proposes additions to pensions of those who worked on the home front during the war. Test pilots, she says, work under great stress, yet get the same as all other aviators; special provisions should be made for them.

At 1800 GMT Gorbachev stops the flow of observation to suggest spending a couple of days clarifying various points of the draft before publication.

1801 GMT

LD0211190889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1801 GMT on 2 November continues its recorded relay of the 2 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1802 GMT an unidentified deputy says she has many observations that will be submitted to the working group. Another unidentified deputy follows by questioning the system of nationwide debate, referring to the exact process of how the debate will be undertaken.

At 1803 GMT Gorbachev asks who favors adopting the existing draft in its first reading, saying the deputies need to register first. The deputies register; there are 400 present. The vote is taken; 287 vote in favor; 82 vote against; 21 abstain. Gorbachev says that for some reason 10 deputies did not vote.

The Women's Committee asks to be included in the list of committees involved in the working group. A vote called: 329 vote in favor; 24 vote against; and 18 abstain.

At 1809 GMT Gorbachev says they have 5 more minutes. he says farmers have criticized the wording of a proposal adopted during the debate on the draft plan and budget. Gorbachev explains and asks for a vote: 364 vote in favor of changing wording; 16 vote against; 8 abstain. The wording is changed, though the substance remains.

At 1813 GMT the relay of the second session ends.

1814 GMT

LD0211194589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1814 GMT on 2 November resumes the recorded relay of the 2 November USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Anatoliy Lukyanov chairs the session. Lukyanov asks deputies to register. Lukyanov notes the draft law on Procedure for Appeals Against Officials' Actions has been finalized. Lukyanov gives the floor to Aleksandr Yakovlev, chairman of the Committee for Legislation, Legality, Law and Order.

At 1815 GMT Yakovlev begins his report, saying the law is exceptionally important. He notes that the wording on respect for ethnic feelings of citizens is modified in the preamble. Complaints could be examined outside the courts, he says, by the defendant's superiors, as stated in the draft. This is a complex issue, says Yakovlev, and must be further examined after the law is adopted. The existing formulation seems acceptable.

At 1821 GMT Yakovlev notes the proposal has been added that Supreme Soviet committees should submit further proposals for discussion on the regulation of labor conflicts. If public organizations violate the functions delegated to them by the state, says Yakovlev, these functions must be reviewed.

At 1825 GMT, returning to the 1 November debate on the courts system, Yakovlev defends the democratic credentials of Supreme Court Chairman Smolentsev.

At 1826 GMT Deputy Chelyshev raises the issue of examination by superiors.

At 1827 GMT Yakovlev confirms this is envisioned as a preliminary measure, given the huge volume of complaints to be handled. If the defendent's superiors fail to discover misdemeanors he can be taken to court by the complainant. The procedure differs from existing system, giving the complainant greater rights. In reply to a question on material compensation for unlawful actions, Yakovlev says this should be dealt with in a separate law altogether. The present law concerns the anullment of unlawful decisions.

At 1833 GMT an unidentified deputy says the law should be brought into force much sooner than planned; complaints are pouring in and must be handled rapidly.

Yakovlev reminds him that the draft contains a provision on extending time limits for valid reasons. Yakovlev is not against speeding up the process, but the legislators must not be put under pressure in this respect. Lukyanov suggests that once the local elections have been held many complaints will be dealt with locally.

At 1840 GMT Lukyanov says they have been discussing the law for 1 and ½ days already and calls for a vote. The deputies register; 383 present with a quorum for both chambers. The vote asks who favors adopting the law on procedure for appeals. The vote: 370 in favor, 6 against, 4 abstentions. The law is adopted.

At 1843 GMT Lukyanov puts a draft decision to the vote: Should the procedure for regulating labor conflicts and violation of citizens' interests by public organizations be reviewed? The vote is to be taken later.

At 1846 GMT a vote on implementation of the law on appeals procedure is taken: 371 vote in favor; 3 vote against; 5 abstain. The decision to implement the law is adopted.

1847 GMT

LD0211203289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1847 GMT on 2 November continues the recorded relay of the 2 November USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow. Supreme Court Chairman Smolentsev is given the floor.

At 1848 GMT he discusses draft legislation on interference in legal proceedings; the draft submitted fills in loopholes in existing laws in this area. The law applies unionwide, though republics can adopt additional measures. Judges are frequently threatened or insulted, says Smolentsev; the proposed legislation provides them with legal protection. Smolentsev reads out provisions of some articles, enumeration of cases to be handled at the republican level.

At 1853 GMT Smolentsev says that after committee deliberations, improvements have been made to some articles of the draft. Foreign experience has been taken into account and implemented, to some extent. Smolentsev requests deputies to adopt the draft, saying it will have a very serious preventative significance.

At 1855 GMT an unidentified deputy asks for clarification, asking why the draft does not provide for sacking of culprits, as in some republics. Smolentsev says there is no contradiction between the draft and existing laws.

At 1858 GMT Lukyanov hands over to Deputy Oborin, member of the Legislation Committee.

At 1859 GMT Oborin outlines some of the provisions contained in the draft. He urges the deputies to adopt it today and bring it into force on 1 December.

At 1902 GMT Lukyanov calls for observations on the draft. There are none. It is put to the vote. The draft law on liability for disrespect toward the courts is adopted by 366 in favor, 1 against, and 5 abstentions.

At 1905 GMT the decision on implementation of the adopted law on 1 December 1989 is put to the vote: 363 vote in favor, 1 votes against, and 5 abstain.

At 1906 GMT the floor is again given to Smolentsev to comment on supplementary legislation to law on status of judges previous adopted by the Supreme Soviet. The draft submitted has been approved by the Supreme Soviet legislation committee. Some provisions are outlined. Judges are to take an oath, for the first time in Soviet practice. Collegiums are to be set up to handle judges' affairs. They will decide on nomination, promotion of judges, and other issues, including the grades of qualification to be introduced for judges.

At 1912 GMT Smolentsev says the document, shows high respect for judges and will guarantee their independence and impartiality. Regarding the dismissal of judges, the procedures for this are specified in the draft.

At 1914 GMT Lukyanov invites questions for Smolentsev.

At 1915 GMT Deputy Smirnov says he has found a contradiction concerning grades of qualification. Smolentsev clarifies the issue. Smirnov persists; Smolentsev agrees to a change in the wording.

At 1921 GMT Deputy Prokushev asks who has right to recall the chairman of Supreme Court? The Supreme Soviet, he answers.

At 1922 GMT Lukyanov begs everyone to read the document as a whole, as separate articles out of context may seem unclear.

At 1924 GMT Deputy Mukhtarov says the provision on oaths is written too simply, noting the words "before the people" should be added to the oath to be taken by judges. Lukyanov asks him to submit his proposal to the committee.

At 1925 GMT Oborin says the simpler the oath is, the better. The proposed variant is perfectly adequate. Republican variants can be agreed.

At 1927 GMT an unidentified deputy says there is no mention of honor and conscience in the oath. Yakovlev says the main thing is impartiality and equality before the law; words such as honor and conscience are mere embellishments.

At 1929 GMT Lukyanov suggests adding the words "In conscience" to the oath as a compromise. The draft decision on the oath is put to a vote: 362 vote in favor; 3 vote against; 3 abstain. The decision is adopted.

1930 GMT

LD0211214489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1930 GMT on 2 November continues its recorded relay of the 2 November Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1931 GMT the draft decision on Qualifications Collegiums is put to a vote. 366 vote in favor; none vote against; four abstain. The decision is adopted.

At 1932 GMT the draft decision on Qualification Certification of Judges is put to the vote: 364 vote in favor; none vote against; none abstain. The decision is adopted.

At 1933 GMT the draft decision on Disciplinary Liability, Recall, and Dismissal of Judges is put to the vote: 366 vote in favor; three vote against; three abstain. The decision is adopted.

At 1935 GMT the draft decision on Introduction of Grades of Qualification for judges is put to the vote: 364 vote in favor; three vote against; three abstain. the decision is adopted.

At 1936 GMT Lukyanov says there is a report to be heard. The floor given to Roy Medvedev to report on findings of Gdlyan and Ivanov Investigation Commission.

At 1937 GMT Medvedev says work has continued since the last parliamentary hearing, noting the Smirnov case was studied at plenary meeting on 4 October; It was unanimous that termination of Smirnov case was premature. Medvedev notes that another plenum examined the Bukhara case; documents are still being checked. The former Uzbek deputy procurator was questioned on Gdlyan and Ivanov's activities, Medvedev says. The last plenary meeting examined the Uzbek case, Medvedev notes, adding that the report will be delivered to Congress of People's Deputies. The Commission has heard detailed reports from Gdlyan and Ivanov themselves, Medvedev says, though neither provided documents to prove their accusations against former VIPs. Medvedev notes Gdlyan has published a newspaper article threatening to publish secret documents in his possession if the commission fails to vindicate him and Ivanov. This is an unethical position, says Medvedev. Medvedev likewise criticizes those people's deputies who have set up an informal pro-Gdlyan lobby.

At 1948 GMT Medvedev's report ends. Lukyanov asks whether there should be a debate on it now, given that a report is to be delivered at the Congress of People's Deputies.

At 1949 GMT an unidentified member of the Gdlyan-Ivanov Commission comes to the microphone and says investigations should not be prejudiced by statements and denunciations. Procurator General Sukharev and his Deputy Kravtsev have made public statements, he notes. The deputy maintains that whether what they said was right or wrong, they have shown disrespect for the commissions elected to examine the matter objectively; the press has also behaved badly in this respect.

At 1952 GMT Lukyanov asks if the deputies should conclude the day's proceedings or debate. Mukhtarov wants to speak, but Lukyanov asks him to write it all down and hand it in for circulation. Lukyanov states the session takes note of the commission's report and calls a vote on the matter: 257 vote in favor, 60 vote against; 29 abstain.

At 2000 GMT Deputy Shakhanov comes to the microphone to say the 7 November parades should be changed in format. They have hardly changed since Stalin's times, though the past 2 years have brought improvements. He suggests a list of national heroes and figures—Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy, the Baku Commissars, for example—who should figure in the parades. The parades should be profoundly internationalist in color, less stage-managed and bureacratized, he says. Lukyanov says the parades are a matter of public decision, though no politburo portraits have been carried in the last few years.

At 2004 GMT Lukyanov summarizes the session, saying it has done a great deal of work so far, thanking deputies for their contributions and conveying holiday congratulations to the deputies and their constituencies.

At 2006 GMT the recorded relay ends.

Deputies Urge Adoption of Plan, Budget

PM0111161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondent V. Dolganov and V. Kurasov: "What Will Next Year Be Like? IZVESTIYA Parliamentary Correspondents Talk About the Discussion of the Country's Draft Plan and Budget"]

[Text] In-depth study of the country's plan and budget for 1990 has lasted almost 6 weeks in the Soviet parliament's committees and commissions. In this time dozens, if not hundreds of the most varied proposals, amendments, and addenda have been put forward and examined. Many of them have been included in the final version of these two documents, whose implementation is designed to stabilize and improve the economic situation in the country.

Heated disputes boiled up within the commissions and committees, and the opinions and views of the participants in the debate regarding the present economic situation were slated. But common positions showing mutual understanding between the government and the people's deputies emerged in the course of these debates and mutually acceptable solutions were sought. That is probably why emotions gave way to analysis and calculation at the plenary sittings of the Supreme Soviet session, and most of the people who took the rostrum pondered how to implement the key provisions of the plan and ensure fulfillment of the budget in the best and most effective way.

Continuing the debate begun the previous day at the 31 October morning plenary sitting, People's Deputy N.A. Nazarbayev pointed out that the plan and budget have been compiled in a well thought-out manner, with contemporary approaches, and they must be adopted. However, none of the positive intentions latent in these documents will become reality if major organizational work is not carried out at local level and if all efforts and resources are not mobilized. Speaking about the lack of time allotted by life itself to stabilizing the situation in the country and its individual regions, the deputy proposed not holding a Congress of USSR People's Deputies this year but using the powerful potential of the body of deputies to resolve urgent economic tasks.

M.S. Gorbachev, chairing the morning sitting, gave the floor to People's Deputy A.M. Yemelyanov. The situation is complex everywhere in our country, he said. There is probably not a single sphere in our country where everything is more or less fine. That is why many deputies greeted the draft plan and budget very critically during the first stage of the discussion. But a great deal of work was then done in committees and not only compromises but also fundamentally new solutions were found. Not all of the products of the work in the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions have been included in the final versions of these two documents. However, it should be remembered that next year's plan is a transitional plan. All the significant ideas and developments which have not been included in it must be utilized in the future, when working on the plan for the 13th 5-year period.

Calling on participants in the session to ratify the plan and budget, A.M. Yemelyanov at the same time also indicated a whole series of weak points. In particular, the planned grain production and procurement figures are clearly overstated. In the deputy's opinion, import-export policy must be radically changed and the number of possible managerial offices and structures within the agro-industrial complex sharply reduced.

Supporting the draft plan and budget, People's Deputy V.A. Borovkov concentrated special attention in his speech on questions of the production of special clothing, footwear, and personal protection for people employed in dangerous industries and extreme conditions. While USSR People's Deputy I.A. Karimov spoke about the complex economic and demographic problems in the Central Asian republics, particularly employment for young people.

Relations between enterprises and ministries need to be reviewed to ensure that next year's plan is fulfilled successfully, People's Deputy S.I. Korneva said. In her opinion, even now departments are engaging in intolerable interference in labor collectives' affairs and depriving them of profit they have honestly earned.

People's Deputy V.-E.G. Bresis indicated the lack of coordination between the draft plan and budget and the new principles for the transfer of republics and regions to economic accountability. The policy of centralized deliveries impedes autonomy for the republics, he pointed out.

...At the plenary sitting 30 October—following speeches by V.G. Kurchenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission, and E.Y. Vilkas, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs—L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and then V.S. Pavlov, minister of finance, were given the floor. The members of the government gave a detailed analysis of the draft plan and budget for 1990 in the light of the proposals and addenda suggested by USSR people's deputies in the course of the discussion of these documents at sittings of our parliament's committees and commissions, giving reasons why the government accepted or rejected particular comments and amendments.

The debate began after the reports had been heard. M.S. Gorbachev presiding proposed giving each speaker a 10-minute time limit during the discussion, since 78 deputies had by then signed in to take part in the debate. The proposal was accepted.

In his speech People's Deputy A.V. Vlasov, who by and large approved the country's draft plan and budget for next year, acquainted those present with the program for their implementation in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and made a number of comments regarding certain provisions in the documents under consideration. The morning plenary sitting ended here.

At the evening sitting People's Deputy A.M. Yakovlev continued the debate. He said that ratification of the proposed drafts should not be delayed since such a delay would in turn retard fulfillment of next year's program. The Supreme Soviet must not supplant the government in this case, especially since only the basic guidelines for the country's socioeconomic development are under discussion today and they still need to undergo a thorough "dry run" in the union republics, krays, and oblasts. At the same time the deputy believed that reducing capital investments in the construction program also makes it necessary to halt construction of those facilities whose construction should have been completed. He cited by way of an example the fate of 11 house building combines which it is proposed to close.

The deputy asked a reasonable question: How can the housing program be fulfilled without them? In connection with the reduction in construction volumes the problem also arises of finding employment for and making use of the released manpower resources.

Speaking about the program for the production of nonfood goods, G.N. Kiselev, chairman of the Soviet of

Nationalities Commission for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Consumer, and Other Services to the Population, pointed out that the situation is at emergency level for some products and close to it for others. The members of the commission he heads are satisfied with the draft's planned growth rates for Group "B" but are doubtful as to their feasibility. There are still no contracts relating to the delivery of R28 billions' worth of commodities to the trading network. The planned increase is not backed by material resources. The conclusion of direct contracts for the supply of raw materials, semimanufactures, equipment, and spare parts is proceeding with difficulty.

Will not this year's situation be repeated, whereby 2 months before the end of the year the trading network has a shortfall of R12 billions' worth of goods? If we have seriously decided to revamp the plan to resolve social problems, this cannot be done without the priority development of light industry, which accounts for 40 percent of consumer goods—most of these goods are essentials, moreover. But shortages of such commodities promote increased social tension in society.

There are sufficient grounds, People's Deputy N.P. Shmelev said, for adopting the government's proposed plan and budget. They are frankly different from previous plans and budgets ratified in previous years and have an overt social thrust. The deputy described the excessively high level of emissions, which will inevitably bring about an increase in inflation, as one of the draft's defects. In his opinion, the budget deficit could have been smaller. This deficit, the deputy believed, could have been reduced by cutting state subsidies to laggard agricultural production units. There are not sufficient grounds for spending R10 billion on aid to Third World countries—that is an impermissible luxury for us now.

The government program, N.P. Shmelev continued, must be supplemented by a program of emergency measures in the financial sphere. The prime national problem is how to eliminate the vast pile of spare money that has accumulated in the country. How is this to be done? The deputy proposed his own program, which includes, inter alia, a drastic increase in imports of consumer goods, the further development of cooperatives, the sale of land and apartments to people, noncommodity and monetary loans, and the normalization of the spirits trade.

People's Deputy V.A. Masol proposed ratifying the draft plan and budget for 1990, but he did point out their inadequate study of the ways to resolve a series of questions linked with eliminating the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station and the Armenian earthquake and with providing housing for servicemen discharged into the reserve. The deputy also broached the difficult problems of material and technical supply in the agro-industrial complex and capital investment.

People's Deputy A.A. Sapegin spoke about the reasons behind the serious shortcomings in the work of railroad transport. Accelerating freight deliveries by 1 hour throughout the country would provide an additional profit of R700 million. But how can these funds be obtained given the current low technical provisioning of our railroads? Tens of thousands of electric locomotives, diesels, and freightcars have grown outmoded and exhausted their resources. Some 15 percent of sleepers have become totally useless. The shortage of open freightcars has reached the figure of 60,000. Economists have calculated that underuse of the capacities of our iron roads, the deputy said, loses the country R10 billion annually. The speaker advocated ratifying the proposed plan and budget because they contain a program for extricating the industry from the deadlock.

The worst plan is the plan that is adopted too late. That is why People's Deputy V.I. Lisitskiy insistently urged that the proposed documents be ratified immediately and the time remaining until the end of the session's work be devoted to "putting the finishing touches" to the package of fundamental economic draft laws.

People's Deputy N.V. Lemesheva asked the participants in the session to retool no less than one-third of construction capacities to rural construction. Because agriculture, she said, is the state's root system. The condition of this system in our country leaves much to be desired.

N.N. Gritsenko, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, reported on the progress of the draft plan and budget discussion. The commission submitted 20 proposals and addenda and, as a result of dialogue with the government, they have all been included in the documents which were submitted to the session today. Speaking about current problems, the people's deputy proposed thinking about the prospects for the next 5-year plan and giving the Council of Ministers the pre-drafting stage assignment of elaborating basic guidelines for it. He categorically objected to any increase in retail prices in the current 5-year plan (such proposals had lately been made from rostrums at various meetings, in some newspapers and journals, and on radio and television programs).

People's Deputies A.K. Orlov, N.N. Engver, and N.I. Sotnikov also took part in the debate.

Then M.S. Gorbachev commented on the future order of the session's work which has been proposed to deputies. This week plenary sittings will take place on 4 days. It is proposed to ratify the 1990 plan and budget and examine a number of draft laws: on shipbuilding; on the procedure for appeals to the courts against unlawful actions by management bodies and officials in violation of citizens' rights; on liability for contempt of court; on pensions for USSR citizens; and others.

A resolution was adopted before the close of the evening sitting regarding the early surrender of their mandates by

USSR People's Deputies V.V. Nikitin, V.I. Melnikov, and N.N. Vorontsov, who have become members of the government.

Comparison of Shabanov Speech

PM0211111989

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 2 November 1989 publishes in its First Edition on page 1 an unattributed report on the speech delivered by USSR Deputy Defense Minister Shabanov at the 31 October Supreme Soviet session under the headline "Guaranteeing Peaceful Labor; Speech by Army General V.M. Shabanov, Member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Deputy Defense Minister, at USSR Supreme Soviet Session." Comparison of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA version with the translation of the Moscow Television version, which appeared on pages 64-65 in the 1 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, reveals the following variations:

Page 64, column two, paragraph one, sentence five in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "...there were also risky proposals, too." (omitting "very many");

first paragraph, entire final sentence: "Eight and three-tenths percent!" (is omitted in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA);

second paragraph, final sentence KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "It is impossible to further reduce defense appropriations in 1990.

I should state...." (providing alternate translation)

fourth paragraph, sole sentence KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "...research and development and experimental design work underway, so...." (adding "and experimental design");

fifth paragraph, sole sentence KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "...forces and its equipment and arms.

Unfortunately, comrades...." (adding "equipment and");

sixth paragraph, second sentence KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "...relative to the originally adopted cost guidelines. There are several..." (providing alternate translation);

page 65, column one, sixth paragraph, fifth sentence KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "R100 a month from their meagre pay...." (providing alternate translation);

column two, paragraph one, sixth sentence KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reads: "We ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to approve the...." (providing alternate translation).

Political & Social

TASS Reports Soviet TV Program on KGB

LD0211234189 Moscow TASS in English 2315 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Soviet national television treated its viewers on Thursday night to an hour-long programme in which KGB officials spoke about "themselves and the world", reported on changes and directions in the work of the State Security Committee (abbreviated to KGB in Russian), and replied to numerous questions telephoned into the studio.

"An issue of central concern for the State Security Committee at present," said Aleksandr Karbainov, spokesman for the newly established Directorate for Constitutional Protection, "is the revision of the place and role of the state security agencies in the Soviet political system and the law-governed socialist state."

"To restructure their work, the KGB agencies should proceed from the interests of society and the interests of the state. Much greater glasnost, or openess is one of the key objectives in restructuring the KGB activities," he noted.

New bills and regulations on state security have already been drafted, the KGB representatives told viewers.

"The State Security Committee is now carrying out active work to counter subversive activities of foreign terrorist and extremist organizations," said Viktor Ugarov, representative of the Soviet counter-intelligence service.

In this connection, he pointed to the special potential threat of nuclear terrorism. "Despite all the control and protection measures," he said, "the possibility of terrorists putting their hands on nuclear weapons is not ruled out. Thus, a situation can arise in which entire countries may be taken hostages".

Ugarov favored the development of professional contacts with foreign special services to combat international terrorism, including drug and weapon trafficking.

Ugarov cited an example of fruitful cooperation between the Soviet "competent bodies" and their counterparts in a number of other countries to suppress smuggling a sizable shipment of marijuana across the Soviet territory. The drug was seized at the Riga customs.

The counter-intelligence representative also noted that there was a need to look for ways to pool efforts in emergencies. The first task to be accomplished is the working out of a legal basis in preparation for the conclusion of an international agreement of these matters.

Genadiy Kislykh, representative of the KGB investigation department, handled the viewers' questions about perspectives of putting an end to organized crime in the country.

He said the KGB was sure an end could be put to the scourge, but added that, in order to successfully accomplish the task, the broad public should act together with the law-enforcement bodies.

"This task can only be accomplished by joint efforts," he stressed.

Questioned about dossiers on private citizens, Kislykh said the KGB had no such dossiers.

Journalist Jailed for KGB Defamation Injured

AU0311094389 Paris AFP in English 0021 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 3 (AFP)—An independent Soviet journalist has been hospitalised for injuries received following maltreatement by warders of a prison where he is awaiting trial on charges of defaming the KGB, several reliable sources said Thursday.

Sergey Kuznetsov, who has been held since October 18 at Sverdlovsk, in the Urals, suffered concussion after he was pushed down a staircase by prison warders, another independent journalist, Yuriy Mityunov, said. The imprisoned journalist had earlier been threatened, Mr. Mityunov said.

Mr. Kuznetsov, who is charged with defaming the state security services (KGB), went on hunger strike two weeks ago.

A former political prisoner, Andrey Mironov, said Mr. Kuznetsov was currently in the prison hospital after being pushed down a staircase at the courthouse in Sverdlovsk.

Mr. Mironov, together with other former political prisoners involved in human rights such as Lev Timofeyev, signed a petition for the release of Mr. Kuznetsov, who works for Mr. Timofeyev's news-sheet GLASNOST.

Rumors of Starkov's Resignation Clarified

90UI0104A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 44, 4-10 Nov 89 p 8

[Notice "to the readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY" signed by the collective of the editorial office]

[Text] Rumors have surfaced recently to the effect that something is happening to the editorial office of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY of the All-Union Znaniye Society, and that its editor in chief has been offered another job. Reports on this have appeared in the foreign mass media. The editorial office has received numerous letters, telegrams, and phone calls asking about the situation that has emerged. We felt it necessary to inform our readers about this issue.

Indeed, on 13 October of this year, critical remarks were made to the editor in chief of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, V.A. Starkov, at a meeting with the chiefs of mass media in the CPSU Central Committee concerning some of the weekly's publications, and he was subsequently offered a transfer to another job.

The editorial office collective has met and acknowledged the correctness of these critical remarks addressed to it; the collective considers it necessary to take them into account in the future.

At the same time, the collective of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY comes out in favor of the editor's remaining in his post because he has participated from the very beginning in establishing the weekly and its collective, developing a political image of the publication, and gaining the trust of the 30 million readers who have subscribed to our publication for 1990.

The collective expresses unconditional support and confidence in its editor in chief, although it does understand that he has a right to accept the offer of transferring to another job on his own.

Committee Report Criticizes Yeltsin, PRAVDA

AU0311133089 Paris AFP in English 1319 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, Nov 3 (AFP)—A parliamentary inquiry into populist Deputy Boris Yeltsin's controversial trip to the United States has criticized his conduct, but also charged the party paper PRAVDA with printing "biased" accounts of the trip, a Radio Moscow publication, INTERFAX, said Friday.

It said the parliamentary committee had submitted a report to the Supreme Soviet stating that "certain declarations and some of Mr. Yeltsin's behavior in the United States, such as it was reported in the press, gave Soviet voters reason to criticize him".

It also recommended establishing a code of conduct for deputies abroad.

Even if Mr. Yeltsin's September visit was private, it said, a member of the Soviet parliament "should consider his movements abroad in a more responsible manner".

The 58-year-old Mr. Yeltsin, a feisty reformer who has been critical of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, was accused of heavy drinking during his U.S. visit in reports by the Italian daily LA REPUBBLICA that were reprinted by PRAVDA, the Soviet Communist Party daily.

The report was later retracted and PRAVDA presented its apologies.

But the committee was set up anyway to investigate the trip, during which Mr. Yeltsin again offered sharp criticism of Mr. Gorbachev, whom he sees as not moving ahead fast enough with reforms.

The committee report also said PRAVDA's publication of LA REPUBBLICA article was "tendentious" and aimed to "denigrate" Mr. Yeltsin, especially since PRAVDA had access to other sources of information about the U.S. trip.

PRAVDA should have presented a more balanced report on Mr. Yeltsin's visit, or presented information to counter his critical public statements, the committee said. [passage omitted]

New Exit, Entry Regulations To Be Drafted

LD0211143189 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—Every Soviet citizen will have the right to invite anybody he wishes from abroad or leave for permanent residence in any country, provided the appropriate permission from that country's authorities has been received.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports today that these stipulations are part of the exit and entry bill that is now in the making. Hitherto only close relatives of people living abroad were allowed to emigrate.

The newspaper quotes Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the visas department of the USSR Ministry for Internal Affairs, who said that "Under the bill a foreign passport will be issued to any citizen who asks for it and invitations will not be required for temporary foreign trips."

Rudolf Kuznetsov also said that draft rules were being drawn up to regulate the stay of foreign citizens in the USSR. They will be discussed by the USSR Council of Ministers shortly.

If citizens of socialist countries are invited to regions open to foreigners, an oral request will suffice to get the necessary permission and no questionnaires will have to be filled in. The guests will be allowed to travel in the USSR without any difficulties.

Citizens of capitalist and developing nations will be allowed to travel within a union or autonomous republic, or territory in which they are registered. They will be able to travel on public roads in personal or office cars without any escort.

Employees of joint enterprises and members of their families will be issued multiple exit and entry visas covering their entire stay in the Soviet Union.

"Several concrete steps have been taken even before the new laws come into effect to expand contacts of Soviet people with citizens of foreign countries," Rudolf Kuznetsov said.

Official on Projected Changes

PM0311093989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 p 4

[Yu. Belkin report on interview with Militia Colonel R. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Visas and Registrations Administration: "To Go or Not To Go?... That Is the Question for Those Going Abroad"]

[Text] The articles of the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights and the Vienna meeting's final document require that Soviet legislation in the sphere of contacts between people be improved and brought into line with international obligations. What measures is the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Visas and Registrations Administration taking in this connection?

"A number of concrete measures have been implemented with the aim of broadening Soviet people's contacts with citizens of foreign countries," Militia Colonel R. Kuznetsov, chief of the Visas and Registrations Administration, says. "Character references have been abolished, the number of questions on the form has been reduced to a minimum, and the procedure for issuing passports has been speeded up. And for travel to some socialist countries to which trips can be made without visas, we have decided to abandon foreign travel passports altogether: Just a small insert [in the Soviet internal passport] will be sufficient.

"And what about the future?

"The Visas and Registrations Administration service, together with the ministries and departments concerned, has prepared draft new legislation on the procedure for exit from and entry to the USSR. According to a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers of 28 August 1986, only immediate family members were allowed to leave for permanent residence abroad. The draft bill lifts such restrictions. Every Soviet person must have the right to go to reside permanently outside the country at the invitation of any person living abroad, and also with the consent of the foreign state.

"The new draft law envisages that citizens will be issued with foreign travel passports at their own request, and no invitations of any kind will be necessary for visits abroad. The foreign travel passport will now be kept at the holder's own home together with the ordinary internal passport. If you want to travel to any country, change your money, buy your ticket, and have a good trip!"

[Belkin] And what changes are awaiting those who decide to visit our country?

[Kuznetsov] There are quite a few innovations here too. Draft rules for the stay of foreign citizens in the USSR have been prepared. The draft will be submitted for examination by the USSR Council of Ministers in the near future. As regards invitations to citizens of socialist countries to visit areas open to foreigners, permission will be given for such trips at the oral request of the applicant, without any need to submit application forms. It is assumed that guests will receive the right of free movement on USSR territory. And citizens from capitalist countries and developing countries will have free movement within the borders of the union republic or autonomous republic on whose territory they are registered. Both will be able to travel on roads used by public transport in their own private or official vehicles without any escort. People who work in joint ventures and their family members will be issued with multiple entry and exit visas for the whole period of their stay in the USSR.

[Belkin] What about the category of citizens who had access to state secrets and, after being released from service, were deprived of the possibility of going abroad? Will this question be settled?

[Kuznetsov] Let me cite just a few figures. In 1988 1.8 million Soviet citizens traveled to socialist countries. In the first half of this year alone 1.7 million people have obtained foreign travel passports to visit CEMA countries and 130,000 to visit capitalist countries. And only 1.5 percent of citizens were refused permission to leave, since their period of possession of information regarding military, technical, economic, and commercial secrets had not expired. This period has been set at 5 years. However, a USSR Supreme Soviet commission has recently reviewed over 50 percent of such cases and positively resolved the question of travel abroad.

[Belkin] Isn't R200 rather a high duty to pay for permission to go abroad at your own expense?

[Kuznetsov] I agree, the state duty is rather high. We are examining the the question of adjusting it. We will look at this sum again. Especially as, in view of the introduction of the special ruble exchange rate, private trips abroad will be more expensive.

Komsomol Now Facing 'Difficult Situation'

LD0211173389 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 2 TASS—By TASS Commentator Aleksandr Moguchiy:

At a recent plenum of the Central Committee of Komsomol. The Soviet Union's Young Communist League, the organisation's leader Viktor Mironenko said: "Specific actions are what matters now. Every such action is more important than a dozen programmes".

The course of the Komsomol Central Committee meeting showed that young people are aware of this.

The Komsomol is now in a difficult situation.

The membership of the organisation that prided itself on "monolithic unity" and comprised almost all young people in the USSR, had decreased by four million over the past two years. Sociologists predict this trend will continue.

Not only individuals, but whole organisations withdraw from Komsomol. Most recently this was the case with the Komsomol Organisation of Lithuania.

The unprecedented event was discussed by the plenum. Different opinions were voiced. And yet the plenum, although not unanimously and without any joy, admitted the right of that National Union of Komsomol to secede, recognised the existence of a new youth organisation in Lithuania and stated readiness to cooperate with it.

Does this mean the crisis or disintegration of the Soviet Young Communist League?

There are debates in youth organisations as to what kind of new rules and programme the Young Communist League should have, will Komsomol retain "monolithic cohesion", a rigid structure and discipline or will it become an alliance of equal youth organisations cooperating under principles of mutual respect.

The draft rules and programme were discussed at the plenum.

The plenum again arrived at an unprecedented decision: Not to endorse the documents. It is not the time to tell young people what tasks they should tackle and in what way they should be resolved.

The plenum limited itself to adopting a programme statement of the Central Committee setting out its political stand.

The statement called for an alliance of equal leagues of Soviet youth and not a single "monolithic" organisation to help build a democratic and fair society.

Reporting on Vorkuta Mine Strikes Continues

Pit Strikes Spread

LD0211195789 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Vorkuta, Komi Autonomous Republic, November 2 TASS—A wave of strikes is sweeping pits in Vorkuta, the Soviet Arctic region.

One mine after another went on strike on Wednesday, and by Thursday morning nine of the 13 pits of the Vorkutaugol Association were not working.

The biggest pit, Vorgashor, has been on strike since October 25.

The losses connected with the strike are growing rapidly.

The production quota of Vorkutaugol had fallen 43,000 tonnes short by November 1. Over 16,000 tonnes of coal is piled up outside pits, awaiting transportation.

The latest waves of strikes was sparked off by widespread dissatisfaction with the pace of implementation of the

August 3 resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers "on measures to ensure the fulfilment of joint decisions made by government commissions with the participation of the central council of Soviet trade unions and strike committees of workers of coal mining areas".

The strikers demand that those who are to blame for not keeping with the schedule for the implementation of the resolution should bear the responsibility for this.

Strikers say that while members of the government report the fulfilment of some of the points of the resolution, things remain unchanged in mining areas.

A conference of strike committees of Vorkuta miners ended on Thursday evening. It adopted a resolution containing demands to the government.

Miners insist that a competent commission be sent to Vorkuta and are prepared to halt the strike during the investigation.

In a further escalation of the dispute, in Inta, in the Vorkuta region, the strike committee and the Council of Chairmen of Trade Union Committees of Intaugol amalgamation pits discussed the implementation of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution and the situation in Vorkuta.

It was decided to begin a strike at all the Inta pits from 07.00 on Friday.

Situation 'Worsening'

PM0311125189 Moscow TRUD in Russian
3 Nov 89 p 1

[Report by own correspondent A. Petrov: "Worsening Situation"]

[Text] Vorkuta—The situation at "Vorkutaugol" Association mines has sharply worsened. All the labor collectives held rallies on 1 November which analyzed progress made in carrying out USSR Council of Ministers Resolution 608 and meeting the miners' demands that were accepted for implementation. On the morning of 2 November the "Vorgashorskaya" Mine, which had already been on strike a week, was joined by a further six mining collectives, according to figures supplied by the association's dispatcher service. They are demanding that the strike held on 25 October be deemed lawful.

As people will know, the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Court deemed the actions of the strike committees of the "Vorgashorskaya," "Komsomolskaya," and "Ayach-Yaga" Mines, which had called on miners to stop work, a breach of the Law on the Procedure for Settling Labor Disputes. The miners also reaffirmed the demands they made during the summer strike. This involves the complete juridical and economic autonomy of mines, supplements for working in the north, and other privileges. The resolution adopted at the city rally on 1 November contains political demands concerning changes to the USSR Constitution, the procedure for Soviet elections, USSR Supreme Soviet work practice, and other demands.

A session of the city strike committee was held on 2 November in which A. Belikov, USSR deputy coal industry minister, the leaders of the "Vorkutaugol" Association and the territorial trade union committee, representatives of local party organs, and railroad workers from the city of Pechora took part. The strike committee stated its prior conditions, on fulfillment of which it is ready to sit down at the negotiating table. For example, bringing to account those to blame for withholding information on progress in carrying out USSR Council of Ministers Resolution 608, and the endorsing of the status of workers' strike committees.

The strike committee session criticized TRUD for publishing an inaccurate report on 27 October regarding the wages of mine workers at the "Khalmer-Yu" pit. This information was obtained by the newspaper editorial office through TASS channels. A. Tsurupa, association deputy general director in charge of economics, informed me that the average wage of miners at the "Khalmer-Yu" pit was R978, not R2,500 as stated in the report.

On 2 November a number of mines again held rallies. According to the city strike committee's figures, 11 labor collectives belonging to the "Vorkutaugol" Association were on strike by the evening. Work has continued at the "Zapolyarnaya" and "Ayach-Yaga" Mines. The association is beginning to receive claims for breach of contract. The exact amount of the fines is not yet known, but it will be necessary to pay around R200,000 from the collective material incentive fund for shortfalls in delivery of coal for export alone.

In view of the fact that the conflict has worsened, there are increasing demands that a government commission be dispatched to Vorkuta.

'Most' Mines Join in Strike

LD0311163989 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The industrial dispute in the Vorkuta coal basin has come to a head. Most of the mines have joined the strike, demanding economic autonomy, better working conditions and supplies. The miners protest against the decision of the local court, which proclaimed their actions illegal.

Meanwhile it's become known that for short supply of coal for export alone the mines are to pay damages to a sum of R200,000.

Strikers Urge Ryzhkov Visit

AU0311143489 Paris AFP in English 1429 GMT
3 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 3 (AFP)—A strike by miners in Vorkuta and Vorgashor in the Siberian far north Friday spread to the town of Inta, as mineworkers protested the authorities' failure to meet their demands from strikes in July, a strike committee spokesman said.

A spokesman for the Vorkuta strike committee, contacted by telephone, said all mineworkers in the city of Inta, where about five mines are located, had joined the strike.

The strikers are demanding a visit to the region by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, he said.

Miners in Vorgashor, the largest mine in the Pechora region, began striking on October 25, and were joined Wednesday by workers in Vorkuta.

TASS NEWS AGENCY said that "strikers say that nothing has changed in their region, but government officials say that certain points in the agreement signed in July have been instituted."

The Vorkuta spokesman said miners did not want the creation of another government commission and had no faith in local officials to bring back results from Moscow. "They want Ryzhkov to come and see the situation for himself," he said.

The government agreed in July to send in consumer goods and improve the economic and administrative situation at the mines.

Strike Seen as Shakedown Move

PM0111114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent A. Solovyev report: "Today in Mezhdurechensk"]

[Text] Mezhdurechensk, Kemerovo Oblast—Mezhdurechensk miners have held a warning strike. What provoked it?

The chain reaction of July strikes "stemmed" from here, from Mezhdurechensk. It rocked the Kuzbass and spread to other mining regions. When the Mezhdurechensk mines stopped work once again 23 October, the Kuzbass was alarmed: Would there be a repeat of July?

There has been no repeat. Prudence prevailed. The strike only lasted 2 hours—0800 through 1000. Work was not completely suspended at any mine. What brought this about?

The oblast leaders rushed to make a televised statement to the effect that the miners' demands, made lawful in July by the joint protocol from the government commission and the oblast strike committee, were being fulfilled at top speed. But the miners of Mezhdurechensk had a quite different opinion of this.

People both in Kemerovo and at the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry were aware that a strike was brewing. The miners gave them notice of it 10 days before. A. Lyutenko, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom], came to Mezhdurechensk 21 October. Local soviet deputies along with leaders of the miners' collective labor councils and workers' committees were summoned to the city party committee [gorkom] for a joint meeting.

A telephoned message from the government provided no clarification. It did not say how many demands had been met or what they were. But it did say that 381 assignments had been allocated... (This is the source of the story about the speedy fulfillment of the miners' demands). Clearly, demands (there were 40 of them) and assignments are not the same thing. Even one demand may be broken up into hundreds of assignments (for whom, incidentally?). The miners doubted the calculations.

They do not deny that a great deal has indeed been done for the Kuzbass since July. The supply of food and goods in short supply has improved. There is still a shortage of many commodities, but the country does not have unlimited resources. The miners are not demanding handouts and privileges. The October package put forward by the men of Mezhdurechensk contains five points that were put to the Ministry of the Coal Industry 1 year ago: They relate to autonomy for mines and pits, coal prices, pensions, vacations, and the regional pay supplement.

The essence of the misunderstandings is a matter not so much of how fast and fully the demands are being fulfilled as of how democratic this process is. Economist A. Krutkis, deputy chairman of the labor collective council, and M. Ushakov, an underground electrical fitter, from "Raspadskaya" Mine; A. Kovalev, a mining foreman from Shevyakov Mine; and other miners whom I met in Mezhdurechensk claim that the warning strike was cause by an "apparatus" attempt to push aside, humiliate, and actually "break up" the workers' committees.

But the mine leaders are winning ever-increasing trust among workers. At the "Raspadskaya" Mine, for instance, where 10 members of the workers' committee were elected to the renewed trade union committee at a stroke. The same is also happening at other enterprises.

"Workers' committees," the miners said, "will remain as long as the bureaucracy exists."

In any event, strikes are no good for the economy. That is why the Mezhdurechensk miners did everything on Monday to ensure that the 2-hour "misunderstanding" did not involve fresh losses. An extra 11,000 tonnes of coal were produced in comparison to normal days, and they overfulfilled the plan.

Miners cannot live by coal alone. The main purpose of their struggle is legal autonomy for the mines. The Ministry of the Coal Industry does not object, but it is not abrogating the old directives that bind mines hand and foot.

The week that began with the strike was marked by a whole series of events. On Wednesday workers' committees from the southern Kuzbass decided to move their oblast committee back from the Kemerovo Oblispolkom building closer to the miners—to Prokopyevsk or Novokuznetsk. At the end of the week, at a city party conference, Mezhdurechensk communists elected a new gorkom first secretary from 11 candidates to replace Yu. Cherepov, who had lost the miners' confidence. The second secretary—the same S. Shcherbakov who is able to get on with the workers' committees—was elected first secretary. The "misunderstandings" are disappearing.

Correction to 'Further on Strike'

LD3110032189

The following correction pertains to the item published under the subhead 'Further on Strike' on page 53 of the 31 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT:

Column two, paragraph two, last sentence should read: "...in two shifts, and then in three and so on.

The Vorkuta strike..." (supplying dropped words)

Local Donetsk Workers Oppose Further Strike

PM0311113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent N. Lisovenko dispatch: "Dialogue Continues"]

[Excerpts] Donetsk—The beginning of these events goes back to 31 October, when representatives of 28 coal mining cities from Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Rostov, and Dnepropetrovsk Oblasts gathered in Gorlovka. They discussed the question of calling a strike, which, according to their intentions, should accelerate the fulfillment of the agreement reached between miners who went on strike last July and the government. [passage omitted]

Some 800 miners gathered for an unauthorized rally outside the [Donetsk] House of Soviets 1 November. Speakers talked of delays in solving the questions of pensions, leave, and other benefits. The miners were addressed by A. Vinnik, first secretary of the oblast party committee, A. Fisun, deputy minister of the coal industry, V. Lodygin, chairman of the Miners Union territorial committee, and others.

On the morning of 2 November a closed sitting of the strike committee in Donetsk resumed the discussion of a possible strike in the next few days.

The prevailing situation is making other working people in the region nervous. Railroad workers appealed to the miners right there at the rally, declaring that industrial disruptions thwart normal operations by the Donetsk railroad. Many other collectives, metallurgical workers and by-product coke industry workers in particular, are taking an active stance against the strike. It has become known that motor transport workers have refused to take strikers to their gatherings.

Normal Work at Mines Reported

LD0311040689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 2 November, as part of its "Vremya" newscast, broadcasts a 2-minute video report by Correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov on the situation at the Donetsk Oblast coal mines.

"Today has been a normal working day at all the coal mines in Donestk Oblast," Kondaurov says. "the dispatch of fuel to customers is underway everywhere. Yesterday's warning strike in Donetsk cost the Donetskugol association 3,000 tonnes of fuel. The miners have decided to make up these losses. However, the overall debt of the oblast's coal industry in the July-October period amounts to several million tonnes of coal and is not yet being reduced."

Progress in Meeting Demands Noted

904F0014A Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 2

[Report on interview with M.A. Srebnyy, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers; A.F. Chebotarev, deputy chairman of the Commission of the Central Committee of the Trade Union for Controlling the Execution of the Demands of Miners and secretary of the Central Committee of the Trade Union; and B.A. Grebenyuk, member of the commission and member of the Donetsk Strike Committee; by A. Kozlov: "We Are in Favor of a Dialogue"; date and place not specified]

As TRUD reported on 1 October of this year, the editorial office asked representatives of government commissions who had participated in working out agreements with the strike committees of miners and the heads of trade union organs to discuss how the demands of strike participants are being met. Today, they respond to the questions of the editorial board.

[Kozlov] In his interview to the newspaper TRUD (on 1 October of this year), USSR Minister of the Coal Industry M. Shchadov discussed meeting the demands of striking miners. Could you assess the role of the trade union of the industry: Has it become a guarantor of the implementation of the summer agreements between the strike committees and the government commissions?

[Srebnyy] I would like to stress that the summer agreements are largely being fulfilled within the terms set. M. Shchadov discussed it in TRUD in more detail. We were required to act in order to create a mechanism for monitoring the implementation of these agreements. This is why the central committee of the trade union held an expanded extraordinary meeting the decisions of which provided a basis for this mechanism. We drew into this endeavor the strike committees, trade union committees, and councils of labor collectives at enterprises. At the central committee we set up a commission for monitoring the execution of demands of the striking miners. At present, this mechanism is already in operation.

First of all, measures which are to be taken by the Minugleprom [Ministry of the Coal Industry] and other departments were analyzed.

[Grebenyuk] It was necessary to monitor compliance with the agreements. In the course of the summer talks, the government commissions frequently agreed easily to enter particular demands in the protocol, apparently, on the principle: Let us enter it, and then we will see. When strike committees began to insist on executing the items in the protocols, difficulties developed immediately: One item cannot be realistically executed within the time set, and another may be fulfilled only in part...

[Srebnyy] Indeed, difficulties have developed and are developing. Let us take one of the main issues raised in the course of the strikes—the economic independence of enterprises. The Minugleprom immediately agreed to the demands of striking collectives: Introduce economic accountability. In the field, they are in no hurry. Why? Economic managers know full-well that their collectives will not be able to work normally under economic accountability. Unsatisfactory material and technical supplies are the first cause, and complications with sales due to the continuous difficulties in the delivery of railway cars are the second. They are also mindful of the fact that the industry receives state subsidies and that by the end of the 5-year plan it should attain the mark of producing 785 million tons of coal in order to become profitable. Specialists believe that this is unrealistic. Therefore, are subsidies once again in the cards? What kind of economic accountability could there be with subsidies?

However, the demands of strike committees say that economic accountability must be introduced. This is why the central committee of the trade union tried to sort out, together with representatives of the strike committees, how realistic economic accountability is for particular mines and what needs to be done in order to solve this difficult problem.

In recent months, we have analyzed other socioeconomic tasks as well in a similar manner. We are glad that miners from different coal regions of our country vigorously participate in this and that this joint endeavor is already producing results. Many things are already changing for the better. Quite a few old issues have been solved—improving the conditions of work and occupational safety, retaining cadres in the Kuznetsk, Pechora, and Karaganda Basins. Defending the rights of the toilers of our industry, the central committee of the trade union has approached the government and the USSR Supreme Soviet with a number of initiatives concerning retirement benefits, leave, preferences for miners, and others. However, there still are shortcomings.

[Kozlov] What do you mean?

[Srebnyy] At the last meeting of the commission of the central committee of the trade union for monitoring the execution of the demands of miners on 17 September, representatives of the strike committees lodged complaints concerning some ministries and offices. Their lack of dispatch is associated to some degree with general economic difficulties in our country. However, there are items in the agreements which are resolved slowly due to customary bureaucratic red tape and the reluctance to work properly on the problems of coal industry workers. This applies to the USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health], the Ministry of Finance, and the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems]...

[Chebotarev] For example, we approached the USSR Goskomtrud in the matter of introducing a 30-hour work week in 40 mines, including those in the north. The response of B. Gavrilov, the deputy chairman of the Goskomtrud, was, putting it mildly, pro forma: Supposedly, "the USSR Goskomtrud has no information on considerable dissatisfaction among toilers and serious social conflicts." Into the bargain, the answer was not addressed to us, to those who approached them, but to the Minugleprom. We got merely a copy. Apparently, the Goskomtrud still practices the same principle of neglect for the opinion of the trade union organ and its demands.

[Srebnyy] Indeed, we had to make quite an effort in order to "speed along" the resolution of this issue. This is not the only example of such mutual relations with the Goskomtrud and other departments. Instead of reviewing the situation in the mines objectively, they frequently "beat back" justified demands by documents which were adopted many years ago and have definitely fallen behind the times.

I would also like to say the following. By now, there are fewer and fewer vague points with regard to meeting the miners' demands. Still, social programs for some coal regions give rise to concern. For 1990, the Council of Ministers is reducing capital investment in our industry. This will entail reductions in the volume of construction of housing and service and cultural facilities; the supply of resources will deteriorate, and so forth. Anticipating the possible unfavorable turn of events, the central committee of the trade union approached the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers with a request not to reduce capital investment hastily and pay attention to the needs of miners. As we have come to know, our request is being considered.

[Kozlov] The strike committees made, and the government commissions accepted, 1,174 demands. Aren't the demands too many? Doesn't their number show that in the industry they did not pay attention to the needs of miners?

[Srebnyy] Frankly, there was no need to record 1,174 demands in the agreements. There are several issues on which profound changes in the socio-economic operation of the industry hinge. Essentially, I have named them above.

[Kozlov] Still, where did these 1,174 demands come from?

[Grebenyuk] An overwhelming majority of them are of a local nature.

[Kozlov] As is known, the miners of the Donbass intended to go on strike again effective 1 October. Why?

[Grebenyuk] The USSR Law "On Procedures for Settling Collective Labor Disputes (Conflicts)" has now taken effect. It provides a good basis for settling labor conflicts in production. We are in favor of proceeding in keeping with its provisions without resorting to extreme measures. We understand full-well the consequences of strikes for the national economy. However, when we try to carry on a dialogue with the departments concerning our coordinated demands we encounter red tape in meeting them, bureaucratism, and even the plain "evasion" of compliance with the obligations assumed... This is why individual collectives of mines and associations believe that the state of affairs can only be improved by strikes. This is an error.

This was also the case in the Donbass. The absence of information on the course of accomplishing the tasks set by the strikes in the collectives also was a factor. Instead, there were rumors and fabrications. All of this made people nervous; they believed that there was a desire to cheat them. The strike was no longer necessary after information on the measures taken began to reach the field and issues of concern to the coal industry employees were placed on the agenda of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Srebnyy] Indeed, at present coal industry workers are against extreme measures. In a majority of basins, they received the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Urgent Measures for Ensuring the Uninterrupted Operation of Railway Transportation and Basic Industries of the National Economy" with understanding and are participating in every way possible in accomplishing the tasks set by the supreme organ of the country. I will repeat that the efforts of miners should be bolstered by the complete and diligent implementation of the summer agreements, especially with regard to the material-technical supply of enterprises. The case of recent events in Mezdurechensk is the best proof of that...

I would also like to stress new trends which have emerged in the demands of miners. I have just returned from Vorkuta where I took part in the city conference of workers' (strike) committees. Along with demands of a social nature, the resolution adopted there made unjustified political demands, that is, it turns out that the strike committees are already abandoning the defense of socio-economic interests of the coal industry workers and are beginning to get involved in "political games." In whose interest is this? I believe that this method of putting pressure on the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers which are solving many problems of the miners are not compatible with the methods of work of the trade union and the workers' movement in general. After all, satisfying someone's political claims and ambitions by inflicting major losses on the national economy is too high a price, and this is inexcusably irresponsible.

[Kozlov] The demands of miners included releasing statistics on the incidence of injuries at the enterprises of the coal industry...

[Srebnyy] Despite the number of injuries in the industry having declined in the past 10 years, it remains high compared to other countries. Thus, in the 10th 5-year plan, the average annual number of fatalities in production amounted to 900, in the 11th 5-year plan, to 858, and in the [first] 3 years of the current plan, to 727. We must stress that following the summer strikes the incidence of injuries increased by 16 cases compared to the same period of last year. The decline of labor and production discipline in the collectives is the main reason.

A large set of measures needs to be implemented in order to improve the situation, which is what the agreements refer to.

[Kozlov] It was stated at the 7th plenum of the central committee of the trade union that government decrees on the development of individual coal basins will be adopted. What are they about?

[Srebnyy] The union government has given an assignment to the Councils of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Kazakhstan, Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, oblast soviets of Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, and Karaganda oblasts to develop, in cooperation with the USSR State Planning Committee, the Minugleprom, and other ministries and departments, a proposal on the socio-economic development of the Donetsk, Karaganda, Pechora, and other coal basins in the years 1990 through 1995. This work has begun.

Vilnius Communists Oppose 'Secession' Plan

PM0211155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Leonid Kapelyushnyy report under rubric "Direct Line": "Intensification of Debate"]

[Text] Vilnius—A meeting of the city party aktiv has been held in Vilnius on the initiative of the party committee secretaries' council. Participating were 973 Communists representing 112 primary organizations, mainly at enterprises in the sphere of physical production. The meeting also was attended by representatives of individual party organizations of the cities of Kaunas, Klaypeda, and Snechkus, as well as guests from Riga, Tallinn, and Moldavia.

The agenda for the aktiv was: "CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum and Questions of Preparing for Extraordinary 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress." More than 20 speakers spoke in the debate. The aktiv adopted a resolution which states, in particular: "The published draft fundamentals of the programs and status of the Lithuanian Communist Party attest to a desire to turn it into a national party repudiating Marxism-Leninism and to divert the republic from the socialist path of development.

"...The meeting participants declare that in the event of the republic party organization's secession from the CPSU the Lithuanian Communist Party will not cease to exist as a constituent part of the CPSU."

The aktiv participants also adopted an appeal to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet deputies, who are to adopt draft laws of great importance for Lithuania's future at the Supreme Soviet session within the next few days. In particular, the law on citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR. The wish was expressed that the deputies secure an amendment to the draft law providing for combined [yedinyy] citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR. As it stands now, a citizen of Lithuania will not have USSR citizenship. The deputies' attention was drawn to "unacceptable procedures" for obtaining citizenship.

"The requirement of an oath of loyalty to the republic stands the relationship between the individual and the state on its head and undermines the autonomy of the individual. In all civilized societies it is only state officials who give the people an oath of loyalty to the Constitution. But in the draft the oath is aimed at putting the individual in the hands of the state and subordinating the citizen to the official."

The meeting participants sent the CPSU Central Committee a telegram asking it to study the situation taking shape in the republic and in the party organization and to send a representative delegation to the extraordinary 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Agenda Drawn Up

LD0311034889 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] At today's session, the Presidium of Lithuania's Supreme Soviet has supplemented the agenda of the Supreme Soviet session opening tomorrow. As we have mentioned more than once already, the top items on the agenda are the citizenship and referendum laws. As for the constitutional amendments, the blueprint of the (?15th) article, on the relations between the state and the church, has been drawn up and received final approval.

The session will also consider the draft legal act on the application of the 17th article of the Constitution. The earlier altered 17th article proclaimed supremacy of Lithuanian laws over those of the Soviet Union.

It's also apparent that the Presidium will not yet submit to the session its proposals concerning the 6th Article of the Constitution, enshrining a one-party system.

A new development (?of) the session's agenda is also the fact that the Council of Ministers will submit for discussion information on the relations between Lithuania's property and that of the Soviet Union. In this sphere, too, a constitutional conflict is already ripe.

Sajudis Official Scores Yakovlev Commission

LD0311142089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 41, 12-18 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by Vytautas Landsbergis, entitled "What Did The Great Country Not Desire?"]

[Excerpts] **It did not wish to acknowledge the great knavery and international crime, and the plot it had entered into with another robber against its weaker neighbors. Fifty years have passed since the days of that plot but the great country has remained silent.**

The A. Yakovlev-headed USSR deputies congress commission, that had been investigating the case of Stalin-Hitler agreements and secret protocols—has failed to announce even some preliminary conclusions although 21 out of 26 Commission members had agreed to sign them. Neither a telegram to M. Gorbachev, signed by a group of deputies, nor efforts to contact Central Television have brought any results. Who are these deputies...

Well, those of them who were able to do so assembled on 29 September in Moscow following an invitation by two deputies of the commission chairman, who himself was not chairing that day. Supposedly, Deputies J. Afanasiyev and E. Savisaar had made a broad announcement at a press conference that the commission was hindered in completing the assigned task and furnishing a report on its conclusions. The partial conclusions, which they had seriously wanted to publish prior to 23 August but were prevented from doing, were given out to journalists by them. Explanation was given concerning the personal character of commission Chairman A. Yakovlev's interview, and about statements made by other officials, supposedly on behalf of the commission, which was not allowed to say anything. The entire unpleasant story was treated as a sign of increasing reaction and an attempt to stifle openness. During the past summer Lithuania had been the most consistent one. The findings of our Supreme Soviet Commission are thorough, unambiguous, open and have met with approval everywhere, with the possible exception of those areas housing the individuals with their hats afire. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet itself was in agreement with the accomplished task—including the research and analysis of documents and argumentation with conclusions.

Some of the other countries involved [illegible] these events did not remain silent either. It was asserted in the speech of FRG Chancellor H. Kohl delivered before the Bundestag on 1 September in commemoration of the anniversary of WW II:

"The agreements made at that time signified a shameful disregard for the independence and territorial integrity of Poland, The Baltic Countries, Finland and Romania. Such a violation of the rights of these nations, including the right of self-determination, was not justifiable by anything, absolutely anything.

We condemn it and its resultant acts of coercion, without any exceptions. [passage omitted]

The Polish Sejm made an important announcement on 23 Aug:

"Both agreeing sides were aware of the fact, the fulfillment of the agreement would involve the use of force or a threat to resort to such use of force. For this reason, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was not only shameful in a moral sense, but it was in opposition to international law principles and therefore null and void from its very inception. [passage omitted]

The German Federal Republic, as evidenced, did make some sort of statement after a week's time. The Soviet Union, it seemed, even before this—since the first congress of deputies, should have made some sort of formal, not private, statement. However, they decided that it apparently was "not useful" and therefore not worth it, without any other criteria, since you wouldn't even find any other criteria.

In spite of this, however, doesn't a country with pretensions to greatness have no concern for its own honor?

A skepticist would comment: why worry about things that do not exist? Would there not still be interest still to at least regain for itself a portion of it?

Lithuanian City Officials Dismissed

LD0311112789 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Exposure of immense abuse of authority has resulted in the resignation today of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies in Lithuania's sixth largest city, Alytus. Although an investigation is under way and the Procurator's Office may still initiate proceedings, it's clear already that the city's authorities are guilty of numerous abuses when allotting plots of land for the construction of private houses. Abuses have been also exposed in distributing municipal and cooperative flats, cars, and so on.

The extraordinary session of the Alytus Soviet of People's Deputies was broadcast over the local radio for the city and district to hear.

A picket of representatives of the public outside the Executive Committee also demanded constructive decisions.

The Mayoress of Alytus, (Neole Januskanecena), is known to have attempted to poison herself on Sunday and while she was still in hospital the session gave her a vote of nonconfidence and suspended her powers.

Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee (Algis Brnotauchis) was also given a vote of nonconfidence and relieved of his duties. Another deputy chairman, (Antonas Maukshvitis), was relieved of his duties at his own request, though the compromising information made public at the session concerned him, too.

One of the deputy chairman, (Viktor Valenticavicus), chairman of the Planning Committee, was entrusted with the task to form a new Executive Committee and submit it for the session's approval in a fortnight's time.

Thus the mafia of the Soviet power elite in Alytus has ended up according to its deserts.

Several hundred so-called useful people, especially those in the trading business, have been lately sleeping badly in Alytus. Suffering from insomnia now are corrupt officials elsewhere, too, because what has been exposed in Alytus may come to light in many other places. If the public is a little bit more active a chain reaction may take place.

Meanwhile the procurator of Alytus, (Josef Litusinienkus), speaking over the Lithuanian radio today said that a special commission was investigating the fraud. The commission is given a month's time, but if substantial evidence comes to light proceedings against the former high-ranking officials of Alytus will be initiated earlier.

Worthy of note is the fact that the plenum of the Alytus City Party Committee had been held before the above session on Tuesday. Mayoress (Neole Januskanecena) was expelled from the ranks of the party in her absence, while the two of her deputies got off with amazingly light punishment. In the opinion of some participants in the plenum an attempt was being made to shift all the blame onto one person. The session of the city soviet has however acted in a more principled way.

'Democratic Movements' Group Formed in Chelyabinsk

LD0211120189 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Chelyabinsk—A congress of democratic popular movements was concluded on 29 October. Deputies from 82 movements in nine republics and autonomous republics took part in the congress. An interregional association of democratic movements was formed.

Lithuania's Prunskiene on Baltics Self-Financing

LD0211122289 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2105 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] In the course of the meeting of 19 October many groups of questions were defined more exactly in which the action at the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow must be consolidated. This was emphasized in an interview on Latvian television by Kazimiera Prunskiene, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers.

[Begin Prunskiene recording in Russian fading to superimposed Latvian translation] We have at the moment some questions that have become stuck. These are recognition of the republic's property, in the first place, for land, natural resources, then, of course, for the enterprises existing in the republic. These steps are being intensified at the present moment not only on our part, also the support from other republics is very great. Everybody wants his land, its recognition as his property, also in the autonomous republics. This gives hope that it also will be like that.

Then it is, of course, important to receive in the second reading the law on self-financing which is essential to us. At present it is still being blocked by work on the law of property, but to some kind of extent an advance is taking place. If it is supported in its entirety, then it will be easier to implement taking over enterprises into republic's property.

Also the question on budget relations at the republics-Union level has become stuck. The Union, its organs, want to consolidate a multichannel system of financing enterprises, in order that means from an enterprise would flow into the Union budget. We, on the basis of the republic's self-financing, regard as possible only settlement of accounts by the republic's budget with the Union's budget. The quantitative side, too, here is very important, not only the principle. Care must be taken of this very cautiously. Questions of procurement are essential. Our enterprises want guarantees for the work of the future. The economic conditions in the union, already as it is, are not very favorable; exchange in kind takes place, there are no resources, there is a deficit. The fund received in Moscow does not yet mean that the enterprise in the republic would receive resources. [end recording]

[Announcer] We gave an insight into the evaluation of the meeting of the leadership of the councils of ministers of the three Baltic republics in Latvia's mass information media.

Estonia's Toome Assesses Riga Meeting

LD0211122589 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2105 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] How does Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, assess the [19 October] meeting in Riga? In the Dzintarkrasts we give an excerpt of his interview from the Latvian television's broadcast.

[Begin Toome recording in Russian fading into Latvian report] Today we talk rather a great deal about the necessity of reexamining relations between Moscow and the republics, and we talk less about our relations. This is natural and logical, so we are reexamining the most important question, about power and competence.

If we reexamine the competence of the center and the republics to the good of a union republic, then new opportunities arise for us that we must take advantage of. This is a mutually connected matter. Today the question of questions is to work out a new model of balance of interests. In relations: between the center and a republic, and between two republics. We have clarified for ourselves the essence of these mutual interests. [end recording]

Toome Discusses Situation in Estonia

PM0111140189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by own correspondent Galina Sapozhnikova under the rubric "Leader in the Age of Perestroyka": "Estonian Option"; date, place not given]

[Text] One thing is clear: It is very difficult to be a political leader in the age of perestroyka. Particularly today—people will notice when you err by a millimeter. Particularly if your main political arena is a republic on which the country's attention is focused. Particularly if many journalists persistently ask the same question: "What is happening in Estonia?"

Journalists almost continuously besiege Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers—naturally, for the Council of Ministers is responsible for the fate of the "miracle" of IME, that is, economically accountable Estonia. Indrek Toome is also amazing in that, according to the results of sociological polls, he has persistently maintained his position among the top three political leaders of the republic for several months running—which is a rarity in politics. And he enjoys the same level in the assessments of the two frequently opposed sides—Estonian and non-Estonian—which is incredible under present conditions.

This year alone the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers has adopted a number of decisions which are reverberating around the country to this day: To protect the domestic market it banned the mailing of many goods, showed touching concern for young mothers and pensioners, began paying earlier than others compensation to persons subjected to illegal repression, and upheld the program for Estonia's economic and social revival. And suddenly, at the very height of the strike passions, it adopted a resolution indicating that the harm caused by strikes must be reimbursed...out of the striking enterprises' material incentive funds.

It was with this question that my conversation with Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, began:

[Toome] ...If we speak of strikes, particularly political ones, I am sure that this is an utterly frivolous form of political struggle. Let's see what happens: Some group of people presents a political ultimatum to the existing power structures—the Supreme Soviet elected by the people; the Communist Party Central Committee elected by the congress; and the government formed by the Supreme Soviet—because of decisions which they dislike. How is it at all possible to put forward demands that the constitutionally formed power structures abandon their right to politics? I believe that such strikes are largely a result of the level of our political culture. It is absolutely logical that a labor collective must itself answer for its actions. Thus, it is also responsible at the moment it decides to go on strike. But who else? Why should people from other enterprises answer for this decision? Just imagine: You are a taxpayer and, let us assume, you like the policy being pursued in the republic today. It would be interesting to know your attitude toward me as a deputy if I were to say: We here have decided to take money from the state budget (to which you pay tax) and give it to the strikers... What will your attitude be if you are against strikes? Therefore I am categorically opposed to reimbursing strikers for losses out of the state budget. As regards the Council of Ministers resolution which you mentioned, we really did make a mistake here and then rectified it. Losses should be compensated for not out of material incentive funds but out of the collective's economically accountable income in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

[Sapozhnikova] Many journalists and representatives of foreign mass media link the strikes in Estonia not so much with the Law on Elections and the residence qualification as with the existence of the concept of IME or, rather, with opposition to it. Let those conclusions remain on the conscience of political commentators, but the fact remains that it was intended that IME would be a consolidating principle in the republic, while in fact it has turned out differently—talk of the concept has been a cause of mistrust among people of different nationalities...

[Toome] Why has it turned out that some people believe that economic accountability benefits only Estonians? This is probably a trail of general confusion. In actual fact it is impossible to differentiate economic accountability according to the nationality of the republic's citizens (and noncitizens too). Since people participate in the creation of national wealth, this means they must also receive their share of the benefits, regardless of everything else.

Citizenship of the Estonian SSR, incidentally, is also a special topic. Many representatives of the republic's Russian-speaking population are frightened by this concept alone. But this fear is more on an emotional level. There are people who do not tire of intimidating the Russian-speaking population by saying: The Estonians will never recognize you as their equals, you will be second-class people, you will be unable to get work and teach your children in school in their native tongue, and so on and so forth... I declare with full responsibility that these are fabrications. There is not a single document either among the Council of Ministers resolutions or among the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet or in the materials of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee that grants any advantages to a person because of his nationality. A law on citizenship is needed in order to "fill in" the cleft that has formed today between the two linguistic groups of the population. Account must be taken of the fact that there are people who are deliberately fanning passions. Some shout that they want advantages for themselves alone, while others promise, in revenge, to send for the army and instill order. There are extremists on both the right and the left. If we adopt a sensible law on citizenship whereby all people living in the republic on the day the law is adopted will acquire citizenship the question of mistrust will be automatically removed.

[Sapozhnikova] When a person feels unsure, he seeks a lifeline. For many inhabitants of the republic, primarily Russian speakers—precisely those who have recently felt unprotected—such a "lifeline" is the USSR Constitution, as something unshakable and not subject to change. Twice during the past year Estonia's Supreme Soviet has embarked on a constitutional conflict. Similar precedents, where the republic's decisions do not correspond to the decisions of the country's supreme organs, will probably arise again. How do you see the mechanism for overcoming such conflicts?

[Toome] Both the USSR Constitution and our republic's constitution are imperfect. It seems to me that everyone is aware of this. The question now is: How to rework them? Our opponents see just one possibility: Even though the constitutions are bad, at both the union and the republic level, on no account must we enter into conflict with them, even if it is perfectly clear that particular articles are inadequate, plainly obsolete, and do not tally with the times. Having come to believe in democratization and perestroyka, people want to wait no longer and are demanding swifter changes to the constitution, proceeding from this logic: First, in accordance with the right of a sovereign republic's parliament, we will make amendments to the republic constitution and then to the all-union one in the process of lawmaking. You will agree that there is logic in this. Incidentally, as regards the constitutional conflict which occurred for the first time after 16 November last year, when Estonia's Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration of sovereignty and the amendments to the constitution and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium rescinded them, it has already essentially been eliminated—by the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 27 July 1989 on the question of republic economic accountability. The third point in that resolution confirms the priority of republic laws over all-union laws.

[Sapozhnikova] Under these conditions it is probably doubly difficult for the Council of Ministers: In addition to the incomprehension that sometimes arises within the republic, a wave of incomprehension also proceeds from outside it, does it not?

[Toome] Generally speaking, I am not very concerned at the fact that such misunderstanding exists on the part of certain union organs, union republics, and central mass media. This really does roll over us in waves: The central press usually publishes one article, a second, a third—this is how public opinion is created. Sometimes, in my view, this one-sided information does not give the true state of affairs. For example, only those phenomena that might be regarded as nationalist are perceived, but for some reason the fact that the "imperial" approach is still quite widespread in the country is ignored. Probably, particular phenomena or processes develop in different places (in ministries, in regions) in different ways and at different rates, and they determine different views. I do not deny, incidentally, that we too make mistakes—but we are human.

[Sapozhnikova] Let us suppose, nonetheless, that we manage to overcome the wave of mistrust. How do you picture the existence of the old economic mechanism and the new economically accountable Estonia?

[Toome] Of course, they will not coincide to begin with. But it is for just this purpose that we exist—I mean the governments of the republic and the country, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance—in order to create with the help of the law conditions under which everyone will work and not hinder each other. We have a vital interest—it is very important to emphasize this—in ensuring that our ties with union organs and with enterprises in other union republics are filled with new substance. Some people accuse us of wanting to create something like Albania here and to produce everything for ourselves alone. But this is unthinkable! I do not know how anyone can believe that Estonia, Latvia, or Lithuania wants to do this. How is it possible? We obtain from other regions all our oil, metal, cotton, and other materials for light industry, which is developed here, and we also supply them with quite a lot. And so it will be. Only the basis is different, a contractual basis, as there must be between partners who want to lead a normal economic life.

[Sapozhnikova] But do you know that young people, who are the new Estonia's future, hardly participate in the discussion of IME? Because the free manpower market, which will inevitably be formed when IME comes into effect, will directly affect young people's interests. Unskilled, half-educated young people will be the first to enter this market.

[Toome] Honestly speaking, I believe that in the immediate future this question—the shortage of jobs—is not urgent for the republic's economy. There are still thousands of vacancies, and there simply is no real danger that IME will hit people of pre-pension age or young people.

As for the question of w[illegible]ung people nonetheless take a passive part in politi[illegible]ions and what holds them back, this is a separate to[illegible]his is probably the normal reaction of young people to what is happening, and there can be no oth[illegible] Interests and values were channeled into the world o[illegible]ings, into music, entertainment, and amusement[illegible]ere were few people with a sincere interest in t[illegible]ague politics or the people's destiny. It was considered that politics was something in which it was not at all obligatory to participate, a game. I believe that our young people are still just waking up. They are waking up and slowly entering big-league politics. Thus, young people participated in the actions of the People's Front and the "greens." This is why the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the Communist Party Central Committee—we all take a very attentive attitude toward the proposals of the Estonian Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee to elaborate jointly with them and with other organizations a new concept of state youth policy.

[Sapozhnikova] But all this, probably, is on condition that the situation in the youth organization is stable. I remember how you, while you were still secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee for ideology, attended the November plenum of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee, when a split on ethnic grounds had become apparent in the Komsomol too. Not so many years ago you were also first secretary of the republic Komsomol Central Committee. During your years on the Komsomol Secretariat did similar problems simply not exist, or were they all crushed?

[Toome] Probably, deep down, they did exist, these problems. During those years we conducted politics on a different level and spoke only of those things that were generally accepted and received support. Under conditions of perestroyka people speak of their vital problems quite differently—directly and openly. Therefore young people too have a clash of different interests. But I categorically disagree with one idea—that the conflict in the republic concerns only Estonians and non-Estonians. This is essentially, nonetheless, a conflict of political views and interests. It is impossible to claim that the Russian-speaking population here is uninational, for more than 100 nationalities live in the republic. Thus, this is not an ethnic conflict but a conflict of convictions, political views, and differing attitudes toward perestroyka processes. I believe that people still realize that we have just one way out in politics—to sit around the negotiating table and seek compromises.

[Sapozhnikova] The very fact that a USSR Supreme Soviet commission has been set up to make a political and legal assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German nonaggression treaty is also a kind of compromise. But is it really so important to wait for an official assessment of the pact? What specifically will change in the life of the Baltic republics after this assessment?

[Toome] In my view, this assessment is needed for big-league politics. It is only important that it be recognized that an injustice was committed—and then trust in the policy called perestroyka will emerge. After this assessment some forces and movements may, of course, appear, as it were, and demand a nationwide referendum and then even secession from the union. But today's reality is quite different, and it is necessary to proceed, above all, from political realities. Nevertheless, I do not think there is any need to fear that the very fact of the pact's assessment will lead to any negative consequences.

[Sapozhnikova] At the international scientific conference on the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact held in Tallinn in the summer, the thought was expressed that the Baltic republics, in speaking of a legal assessment of the secret protocol to the pact, are demanding moral satisfaction above all, not categorical secession from the USSR. Do you believe that the latter would be advantageous to Estonia?

[Toome] With regard to economic ties I have already said that we have so many of them that we are interested in close cooperation with our traditional partners—regions, plants, and enterprises outside the republic. Everything depends on further democratization and the development of perestroyka in the country as a whole. If it proceeds normally and if people feel that the republic is really a sovereign state within the USSR, that no one infringes it, and that no one is in command of the economy, politics, culture, and education from the distant center, then the question of secession will not arise. But if all the planned areas for the development of sovereignty and independence in politics, in the economy, and in culture are not realized, I am 100 percent sure that the question of secession will be raised again repeatedly, even though this is, perhaps, politically unrealistic.

[Sapozhnikova] Thank you for your honest replies to these questions. Pardon me, but I cannot refrain from raising another topic to end with. Please read what (according to ARGUMENTY I FAKTY) the French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS writes about you: "A special feature of the unrest in these republics is the active involvement of party and government members in the leadership of the nationalist movement, particularly in Estonia. These leaders—Indrek Toome, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, for example—declare that they would like to play a restraining, realistic, and constructive role." What is your attitude to that description?

[Toome] Take the original—I am 100 percent sure that it says "leadership of the **national** movement." Our Russian press, and particularly the central press, constantly translates "national movement" as "nationalist." Naturally, this at once takes on a negative hue. It is a fact that I am involved in the **national** movement for the interests of my nation. But no way am I involved in any nationalist movement. I am a party member, and I believe that the Estonian Communist Party is called upon to play a responsible role in democratic processes, to stabilize the situation, and to endeavor to involve all other public movements in cooperation.

Boycott of Estonian Elections Threatened

90UN0195A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 p 3

[Report of interview with Mikhail Lysenko, chairman of the republic's Council of Strike Committees, by Correspondent V. Akimov: "We Will Boycott the Elections"; part of a series of articles on the election campaign; date and place not specified]

[Text] We began the publication of a series of articles in yesterday's issue of the newspaper with an interview with M. Kheydmets, a member of the central staff of NF [People's Front], on the conduct of the elections. The series will make it possible, it seems to us, to get acquainted with the points of view of the political forces that are really operating in the republic, and that are participating in the election campaign in one or another form. In publishing today's interview, the editorial staff reminds its readers of a thought expressed earlier (see SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA of 18 October 1989, "It is Time to Take a Position") that this does not denote agreement with the interlocutor. We, as has already been emphasized, retain the right to express our opinions in one of the subsequent articles of the series.

[Lysenko] We expected more decisive measures from the last session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. A. Ryuytel, at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow, promised that the Law on Elections to Local Soviets will be put into effect in accordance with the USSR Constitution. This did not happen, and the residential qualifications for candidates for deputy remains. This decision does not suit us. The same can be said for the second paragraph of the decree of the Supreme Soviet which states that, after the adoption of the Law on Citizenship, the Law on Elections will be conducted in accordance with it. But in the draft Law on Citizenship, the residence qualification is even more severe.

[Akimov] You consider such requirements illegal?

[Lysenko] Yes. All of these qualifications pursue one objective—violation of the rights of the population living on Estonian territory that speaks another language. Through these laws they want to show again that the local inhabitants, that is, the Estonians, are the masters here, and that they do not have to take us, newly arrived people, into account. They thereby exclude from political life at least about 80,000 members of the foreign language speaking population.

[Akimov] When you say "they," whom do you have in mind?

[Lysenko] The People's Front, citizens' committees, the National Independence Party, and the Society for the Preservation of Honored Monuments; that is, those movements which believe that we, the foreign language population, are to blame for the fact that Estonians live poorly, and that if we leave, they will live better. And they are doing everything for this. But the People's Front dictates, I emphasize, dictates its will on the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and on the entire leadership of the CPE [Communist Party of Estonia] Central Committee.

[Akimov] And who is "we"?

[Lysenko] We are that part of the Russian-speaking population that does not agree with the violation of our rights, and that does not agree with the policy now being conducted in Estonia. I am not saying that "we" means the entire 600,000. I am talking only about that part of the population that does not agree. And there are hundreds of thousands like that. This was also demonstrated by the political strike, which is now suspended.

[Akimov] You said that a decision has been made to boycott the elections to local soviets. Who made the decision, and how will it be implemented?

[Lysenko] The appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet was signed on behalf of the OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives] by V. Yarova, on behalf of Interdvizheniye [Intermovment] by Yu. Rudyak, and on behalf of the Republic Section of War Veterans, the Armed Forces, and Soldier Internationalists by A. Yakushev and myself. It states, in particular: "Considering the complicated political and economic situation and the efforts of the USSR Supreme Soviet to normalize the crisis situation in the country, and also the platform on international relations worked up by the CPSU Central Committee, we protest against the actions which lead to further confrontation and declare that we are compelled to take the following measures to protect our constitutional rights: 1. To extend the decision of the republic Council of Strike Committees on the cessation of the political strike, which was adopted on 17 August 1989. 2. In the situation that has developed, to consider it impossible to participate in the elections to local organs of authority according to the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] now in effect. 3. To begin the organization and conduct of alternative elections to the Soviet of People's Deputies in accordance with the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." I will not reveal ahead of time how this will look in practice. I will only say that, first, we will nominate candidates mostly from the work collectives, and, second, we await the decision of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that is now going on in Moscow. Our appeal will be read there. The USSR People's Deputies must understand us.

[Akimov] If I understand you correctly, as previously, the threat of a strike will hang over the republic?

[Lysenko] Yes, that is so. Only the adoption of laws that do not infringe upon the rights of the foreign language speaking population can stop the strike. When we see that we are considered to be people who enjoy equal rights, only then will the Damocles sword of a strike be removed. We realize that a strike will not improve the life of the people. But we have no other weapon.

[Akimov] And the weapon of a parliamentary fight? Did the thought not occur to you that it is more advantageous to concentrate efforts not on intensifying the confrontation, but on the organization of the political struggle through the parliamentary system?

[Lysenko] We do not want confrontation, but we are being pushed into this. Even those deputies of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet who should have reflected the interests of that part of the Russian-speaking population who are against discrimination are operating in the old way and joining the majority. It would be another matter if our representatives were in parliament on an equal basis, or if they constituted at least 40 percent of the deputies. Or if there was a 2-chamber parliament. But now we will not accomplish anything through the parliamentary route. Many Russian-speaking deputies do not express the will of those who at the present time are fighting for the rights of the working class.

[Akimov] A congress of the United Workers' Front was held in Leningrad recently. A decision was also made there to nominate candidates first and foremost according to territorial-production features.

[Lysenko] This was a correct decision. Now is a time when a decision is being made as to what the Soviet Union will be like: Either we will remain just as strong and powerful a state, or we will break up into "principalities," where everyone will think only of himself and all will pull only for themselves. And, therefore, if we do not as a priority resolve the economic problem, and we only develop glasnost and democracy, then we will not have a future. And for this it is necessary that the people elect as deputies first and foremost those who produce material values and who know the concerns of the working class better. Glasnost and democracy should exist, but not to the extent that they do now. I am against your getting everything that you want immediately. My opinion is that this is early for our people.

[Akimov] What should be apportioned ? And who, in your opinion, should measure out the portions?

[Lysenko] I believe that everything cannot be done all at once. See, now Stalin is being mentioned, and everyone is chiding him for the bad things he did. But they did not think about the people. How is it now with those people who lived under Stalin and who went on his behalf to death or into an attack? I believe that such questions should have been raised when the generation that lived under Stalin was no longer living. If a person 50, 60, or 70 years of age lived with a consciousness of Stalin's greatness, then how will he now reform and say that everything was wrong? Today, everything that happened in Estonia in those years is being shown only in a bad light. Why don't they show what was good? And it is necessary to show what was good and what was bad. That Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was discussed at the session only in the worst light. But why did they not print the speeches of the deputies of the Duma, of that Deputy Lauristin? Why is this being done? I come to the conclusion: It is being done specifically to show once more how bad they are—Stalin, and the Stalinists who live here now. We also discuss the policy of Stalin that existed at that time. But who executed it on the spot. Local people.

[Akimov] Can you assert that a danger threatens socialism in Estonia?

[Lysenko] Yes, and I say it outright: A danger threatens socialism in Estonia at the present time. It is the wild outburst of nationalism. We see in all actions that certain circles are trying to revive bourgeois procedures and a transition to capitalism. They want to transfer enterprises to private hands, and the land to the farmers. What comes of this? If someone will own some part of land with the right of passing it on through inheritance, then I will not be able to go into a forest on this land, or on a river or lake? Or the transfer of an enterprise to a private tradesman. It means that an owner can do whatever he likes?

[Akimov] That is, if I understood you correctly, the plurality of forms of property does not correspond to the socialist path of development?

[Lysenko] No, it does not correspond. We have to take a lot and learn a lot from the West in order to lift up the economy. But not to such a degree. They want to leave only small enterprises here, and turn some large plant into a workshop for servicing oneself. But the rest does not bother them. I am categorically against this. They want to transfer us to local subordination, and then they will decide all questions themselves, but we will not be able to do anything.

[Akimov] If you were to decide how to carry out economic reform and to make political decisions, what would be the first thing that you would do?

[Lysenko] I am not an economist and not a politician. In order to make decisions, one has to know how to do this. Beginning with last year, I began to look more into all spheres of vital activity of the republic and the country. While previously I had not given this much attention, but since the spring and summer events, I have been trying to be in the thick of things. I am not against laws on language and elections. I am against articles that are discriminatory for the foreign language speaking population. Or take the draft Law on Citizenship. It contains an article on the conditions for acquiring citizenship. It states that an oath has to be taken. What kind and to whom? I took one oath—loyalty to the Motherland—when I went into the army. And I do not intend to take a second oath. I consider myself a citizen of the Soviet Union. I want all inhabitants of the Union to feel that they are Soviet citizens in any part of the country, so that there would be no kind of infringements of rights.

[Akimov] And the last question. The course taken today in law-making of the republic is defined by the 11th and confirmed by the 15th plenum of the Estonian Communist Party. And if I correctly understand the essence of party discipline, then the decisions of these plenums are obligatory for all communists. How do you connect your actions and the actions of the strike committees with the requirements of the CPSU rules?

[Lysenko] But all of this pandemonium actually started with the 11th plenum. It was precisely then that these ideas were heard—sovereignty and priority. If we were to see that the leadership of the Communist Party is conducting its own line, and that it is not acting with the help of the People's Front, we would conduct ourselves differently. Indeed we could abide by the Rules of the party, but if we do not concur in the policy of the republic central committee, then we are behaving correctly when we express our protest with strikes. The sooner the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, the government, and the Supreme Soviet pay attention to our concerns, the sooner will the situation be stabilized. When the people see that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee is conducting a policy that satisfies us, then many communists will also pay attention to the party.

Reorganization of Estonian Government Detailed

90UN0188A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Tiit Yarve, administrator of affairs of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, by Estonian Telegraph Agency correspondent R. Rutnik: "Time to Act"; date, place, and occasion not specified]

[Text] [Rutnik] All major things are invented several times, and in a different manner. Nothing has been ultimately discovered. This is a truth in philosophy. In everyday life, things happen differently. In June, you, Tiit Yarve, became the administrator of affairs of the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. Following that, there has been a lot of talk about the affairs of the Council of Ministers. They have mostly been merely about staff reductions taking place and the end not being in sight. The last piece of news came on 29 September. On that day, the administration resolved to reorganize the apparatus of the ESSR Council of Ministers. The renewal is so radical that every office employee working at Toompea has signed a document saying that he is relieved of his responsibilities effective 1 December. Along with I. Toome, you have also signed the decree of 29 September. What is the point of it, after all?

[Yarve] I would begin with things somewhat remote. The state has fought the bureaucracy at all times. However, nobody has been able to finally triumph over the bureaucracy. The last major action in the Soviet Union was carried out in 1988 when the objective of reducing the managerial apparatus by one-half was set. This process here, in Estonia, where several ministries have disappeared, many have been merged and now go on under the names of committees, has been very painful and contradictory. People have been let go, and life has gone on as usual. All of this has also happened in the Administration of Affairs the name of which has changed, some chairs have been left vacant, and so on.

Once again, yet another perfunctory staff reduction has been carried out which has never been very useful. The managerial structure can be changed effectively if we begin with the functions. At first, we must always ask the question "What needs to be done," and only after that will it be possible for us to say who may be up to the task. This situation is changing now. We have the IME [Economically Accountable Estonia] concept, and the process of its implementation has begun. We know that the functions of governance will undergo substantial changes at the level of both the government, cities, rayons, and the departments. Transferring the rights and responsibilities to the primary level is the common trend. In the future, neither the government nor the ministry should be bookkeepers, planners, and dispatchers. The state apparatus is called upon to carry out state policies and create conditions for free, motivated labor in all spheres of life. This is a matter of principle. Secondly, the situation which has emerged now, the implementation of the IME, in and of itself demands that the work of the government apparatus be reorganized and the staff be renewed. This is, so to say, the main background which necessitates radical transformations.

[Rutnik] Still, what is going to change specifically?

[Yarve] Currently, the government apparatus is structured along ministerial lines. In the Administration of Affairs, there were the department of industry, agroindustrial department, departments of transportation and communications, of construction and municipal economy, and so on. On an everyday basis, the situation developed in such a manner that the departments became the advocates of the ministries they oversaw and of their interests in the administration. The ministries frequently abused this situation. Both high-ranking and low-level ministerial officials used to approach the government with requests to take measures, and on many occasions in a quite sloppy manner—supposedly, the people in the administration had to package the epistle properly themselves. Thus, the government discussed petty affairs in a string of meetings and adopted resolutions. Annually, there used to be about 700 resolutions and slightly fewer instructions and recorded decisions. Now let us ask ourselves the question: What is this pile of papers worth? This is the first point. Secondly, overworked employees are not in a position to work on long-term arrangements even if they have the experience, are intelligent and capable of doing the job. Meanwhile, the IME is drawing closer... At the same time, it is known that we are more attached to our habits than to our opinions. This is why there was no opportunity to change the style of operations of the administration without an abrupt turnaround. We resolved that positions of government advisers have to be created while a majority of departments are to be eliminated. Only the personnel, municipal, protocol, and general departments will remain, as well as the group for receiving citizens.

[Rutnik] We have heard a little about government advisers before. It looked like former ranking chiefs occupied the chairs of advisers in keeping with traditions. Will changes occur this time?

[Yarve] By all means, and changes in the very principle. The chair of a government adviser will no longer be meant for comfortable sitting. The task of the adviser is to prepare the issues for the government, study and assess the situation in a particular sphere of life, evaluate the regulatory acts prepared, including IME draft laws. He should be the one to give the chairman of the Council of Ministers a competent answer. The adviser himself has to be in the thick of things in order to render effective assistance to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Ministers, city, and rayon authorities are the second circle which the adviser will have to communicate with on a permanent basis. Besides, experts and consultants will certainly be involved in actual practice in their fields. We believe that no fewer than a dozen government advisers will be required: a legal adviser, a social adviser, an adviser on the economic reform, an adviser on foreign relations, a financial adviser, a science adviser, an environmental protection adviser, an industry adviser, and so on. Small working groups will be set up to aid each adviser.

[Rutnik] Who is going to be suitable for the positions of advisers? Would this not actually mean that present-day chiefs of departments will become advisers tomorrow?

[Yarve] People who have a good basic education and, as a rule, a candidate of sciences degree, experience in administrative work, people who are knowledgeable about legislation and state governance, who know the current socio- economic situation of the state, are familiar with the experience of other republics and countries in their field, who approach the issues of state governance constructively, and who are above the ministerial and group interests, people with initiative and business sense may become advisers—neither more nor less. The turnaround in state governance presupposes the presence of personalities and of a solidary team. However, let us approach it more specifically. Say, A. Purga has already embarked on his work as the economic reform adviser, and E. Grauberg—the work of the adviser for social issues. They did not come from the government apparatus. Both are known as good workers. For example, chiefs of departments in the government apparatus, such as A. Norak, Yu. Yarv, and Kh. Allvee, will also embark on the work of advisers, and perhaps some others. The construction adviser L. Linnupyld has worked for the Gosplan [State Planning Committee] for a long time. Therefore, the ability to work in the government apparatus during the implementation of the IME is important rather than personal particulars, previous position, or old credits.

[Rutnik] What will happen to those who will not be suitable for the renewed government apparatus?

[Yarve] In this instance, I would first of all like to say that we do not have bad, resourceless, or stupid people at Toompea at present. All of our employees are competent and hard-working. Unfortunately, the time and the system have left an imprint: the staff is of considerable age and work experience; what is, perhaps, lacking is the readiness to take risks and a sense of the new. I believe that in the course of this reorganization almost one-half out of the approximately 150 employees of the apparatus will be renewed. Some of them will retire; however, there are those who have already found themselves interesting jobs at state enterprises, at small companies, or joint enterprises. There also are those who have yet to find a job. All those let go will be given an opportunity to take advantage of the preferences which the law provides for in such cases. Regardless of this, parting our ways is sad. In human terms, I understand that; however, the present time and our hopes no longer make it possible to proceed the old way.

[Rutnik] Let us come back to advisers once again. It is known that about 20,000 documents a year arrive at the Administration of Affairs. Among them are both extremely important and quite trivial documents. Are there apprehensions about the advisers also being buried under a mountain of papers soon? This is the first point. Secondly, will the role of an adviser be excessively important? Will a situation emerge in which it will be impossible to circumvent an adviser? After all, an adviser may be mistaken himself.

[Yarve] I would like to begin with the idea that the value of a person in terms of his usefulness to society is relative. A wood-cutter is good in a cutting area, and a philosopher at a university. Likewise, advisers should not handle trifles. This is for sure. Moreover, trifling matters should not reach Toompea; only in this case will we be able to talk about genuine state governance. This, however, does not mean that a man with his problems will be barred from our building. Quite the opposite! If those who are entrusted to do so locally do not manage with the concerns of people, the appparatus and the advisers will have to intervene. However, they will intervene in such a manner as not only to resolve a particular person's issue but also to rectify the system which has exacerbated this problem.

The advisers should have sufficient powers but not a monopoly on power. For example, if one of the ministries believes something while the adviser believes otherwise, two alternative versions appear, and the final decision is made by the government or the head of the government.

[Rutnik] Can we expect that an efficient team of personalities for implementing the IME will be created at Toompea beginning 1 December?

[Yarve] I believe so. Otherwise, undertaking this endeavor would have been pointless.

Even now we are trying to do everything for the benefit of the IME. Apart from our experts, we have set up an additional group of experts under the government which reviews all draft resolutions on the issues of the IME submitted to the government. We are looking at a very significant stage. On the one hand, the beginning of the new year is rapidly drawing closer. On the other hand, we should ensure that every decision which deserves to be endorsed by the government is viable. We should act quickly but not at a breakneck pace.

Here is one more idea. The IME is only beginning to materialize. At this point, we cannot determine precisely even the duration of the period of transition. The discussion of the draft laws by the government has clearly revealed the volume of work not yet done. Meanwhile, we should begin improving life right away. This is an everyday concern of any government, be it increases in retirement benefits, protection of the internal market, issues of orphans, ensuring the feeling of protection for every person, or issues associated with the openness of Estonia, air and sea routes, telephone communications, and so on. There has been progress in all of these spheres of life. We should carry on the policy of action. The renewing team is prepared for that. We should also think about the ways to increase the clout of the new team. The government also has to learn.

[Rutnik] Finally, one more tricky question. Do we need to carry out profound transformations right now? After all, parliamentary elections are to come soon; a new government will come, and a new government apparatus. What is the current haste for?

[Yarve] The voters form their judgment on the basis of current deeds rather than words. The renewing government apparatus is already working so that people could say: We have an independent and democratic people's government which pursues an independent policy. I do not say this on account of the elections but rather thinking about the coming business day.

Latvian Calls for Draft Boycott Criticized

PM0211154989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Irina Litvinova report under the rubric "Direct Line": "In the Opinion of the Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Prosecutor's Office has made a report assessing those organizations which have "irresponsibly mounted activity aimed at frustrating the fall draft." In the opinion of the Prosecutor's Office, the youth organization's statement carried in the publication of the Latvian People's Front suggests that draftees boycott active military service and gives instructions on how to evade it. Seeking to realize their political ambitions by any means, the Prosecutor's Office report states, this association's functionaries are playing with the destinies of Latvia's youths by urging them to violate the law, which provides for criminal liability for evading the draft. As the republic's military commissar reported, materials relating to seven "refuseniks" have been forwarded to the Prosecutor's Office.

The Latvian People's Front Duma Board has urged the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to suspend the fall draft by means of a resolution and to adopt at its 10 November session this year the draft law on alternative service proposed by the Latvian Women's League. The Latvian National Independence Movement has appealed to all advocates of alternative service to wear white armbands or ribbons through 11 November.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined at its session the possibility of amending the legislation on compulsory military service. A resolution was adopted to draw up corresponding proposals. In addition, the commission for military service affairs of the republic's youths is to join with interested organizations and the military commissariat in drawing up within a week a draft law on alternative military service and to submit it to the republic Supreme Soviet session for consideration. The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium condemned the illegal calls by public organizations, societies, and the mass media for the republic's youths to boycott the draft into the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces.

Latvian Supreme Soviet On Changes to Constitution

90UN0191A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 p 3

["Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Proposals Pertaining to Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution"]

[Text] A whole set of problems, key ones of which are the emphatic decentralization of the Union by way of the delineation and redistribution of jurisdiction in favor of the union republics and the formation of an effective legal mechanism for coordination of the interests of the USSR and the union republics, should be resolved anew in the process of improvement of the USSR Constitution.

Article 76 of the USSR Constitution proclaims the union republic a sovereign soviet socialist state. At the same time, however, a number of articles of the current USSR Constitution are contrary to this proposition and are impeding the union republics in the exercise of their rights as sovereign states.

1. Article 73 of the USSR Constitution interprets USSR jurisdiction so vaguely that virtually all state authority may be referred to the federal level. For this reason it is necessary to redistribute authority such that the union republics may on their own territory themselves exercise a plenitude of state power. It is necessary to proceed here from the fact that the union republics are primary and the federation, derived. Only the republics may transfer to the union or restore to themselves this authority or the other, since the republics created the union.

In this connection, parts two and three of Article 76 of the USSR Constitution determining the extent of the jurisdiction of a union republic should be set forth in the following version:

"A union republic exercises a plenitude of state power on its own territory and determines the range of state authority realized independently or in conjunction with other republics.

"In the event of enactments of organs of state administration of the USSR being at variance with the laws of a union republic, the laws of the union republic take effect."

2. Article 74 of the USSR Constitution in the current version limits the sovereignty of the union republics in the legislative regulation of the state and social life of a republic. In order to remove this contradiction it is proposed that Article 74 be set forth in the following version: "Laws of the USSR on questions pertaining to the jurisdiction of the union are equally valid on the territory of all union republics.

"In the event of a union republic law regulating federative relations being at variance with an all-union law, the USSR law takes effect."

At the same time, a sovereign state such as is a union republic should also have legal guarantees of this sovereignty, specifically, the right of ratification of the USSR Constitution and USSR laws. The practice of the functioning of the USSR Supreme Soviet shows that laws continue to be drawn up and enacted which apply in detail and uniformly on the entire territory of the USSR legal relations not pertaining to the jurisdiction of the USSR. At the same time, on the other hand, there is no mechanism for suspending the effect of such laws if a union republic disagrees with them.

3. It is essential that the USSR Constitution reflect the fact that the USSR is formed of sovereign union republics which have the right to freely determine without any outside pressure their domestic and foreign political status. For this reason it is proposed that Article 70 of the USSR Constitution be set forth in the following version:

"The USSR is a union, multinational state formed on treaty terms as a result of the voluntary association of equal soviet socialist republics. The basis of this association is the principle of the nations' free self-determination."

That part two of this article be excluded.

4. Articles 10 and 11 of the USSR Constitution, which determine the types of property constituting the basis of the economic system of the USSR and proclaim as the exclusive property of the USSR the land, its interior, waters, and forests are manifestly contrary to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution and limit a union republic's possibilities of developing its economy independently, with regard for its particular features. Account is not taken here of the fact that the union republics have not transferred their land and other natural resources to the overall ownership of the USSR and that, together with state and kolkhoz [collective farm] and cooperative property, a significant contribution to a strengthening of the country's economic potential may be made and is being made by other forms of collective and individual property. For this reason it is proposed to revise these provisions enshrining the republic's right of ownership to the land and natural resources and also, together with state and cooperative property, determining the role of collective and individual property in the economic foundation of the USSR.

5. Defining the system of soviets of people's deputies as the highest organ of state power of a union republic, Article 89 of the USSR Constitution establishes the Congress of People's Deputies.

Proceeding from their national-state arrangement, territory and other circumstances, the union republics themselves have the right to determine whether they need as the highest organ of power a congress of people's deputies or a supreme soviet. For this reason the specification of the union republic congresses of people's deputies should be excluded from this article.

6. Article 90 of the USSR Constitution determines that elections of people's deputies be appointed no later than 4 months prior to the expiration of the authority of the pertinent organ of state power.

This term is acceptable upon the organization of elections of people's deputies of the USSR, inasmuch as the constituencies are large in terms of territory and the candidates need time to meet the electorate and so forth. However, an election campaign of people's deputies of the local soviets does not, under the conditions of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], require such a lengthy period. For this reason, the period of the campaign for elections of people's deputies of local soviets should be determined by each union republic, proceeding from specific conditions, and the USSR Constitution should confine itself to determination of the period of the elections of people's deputies of the USSR.

7. Chapter 13, "The Election System," of the USSR Constitution regulates in detail questions pertaining to the jurisdiction of the union republics and establishes that one-third of people's deputies will be elected from public organizations, the minimum age of the deputies, the list of officials who cannot be deputies at the same time and the list of subjects with a right to put forward candidates for deputy and representatives to the election commissions (articles 95, 96, 100 and 101 of the USSR Constitution).

These matters should be determined in the union republic constitution, depending on specific circumstances, to ensure democratic elections and the formation of competent organs of state power and delineate legislative and executive power. For this reason these articles should regulate the procedure of elections only of people's deputies of the USSR.

8. Chapter 21, "The Procuracy," of the USSR Constitution stipulates that the union republic procuracies be appointed by the prosecutor general, and rayon and municipal prosecutors appointed by the republic prosecutor be confirmed by the prosecutor general (Article 166), that the prosecutor general be entrusted with responsibility for uniform and precise compliance with the laws universally (Article 164) and that the procuracy authorities be subordinate only to the prosecutor general (Article 168).

In connection with the republics' acquisition of genuine sovereignty and the enactment of their own laws with observance of the general principles established in the USSR, it is necessary to revise these articles, determine otherwise the status of the republic prosecutor, providing for his appointment by the highest organ of power of the republic, and exclude the specification of the prosecutor general's exercise of the highest supervision of uniform compliance with the laws in the union as a whole, inasmuch as the republics have their own laws.

[Signed] I. Daudish, secretary of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

NKAO Refusal To Submit to Economic Pressure

NC0211102989 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] An ARMENPRES correspondent reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] that the prolonged blockade has created severe difficulties for the collective of the Stepanakert Electrical Goods factory attached to the Yerevan Luys Enterprise. At present the factory has virtually no money left to pay the workers. This is at a time when manufactured goods worth over R2 million have accumulated in the factory. Because of the blockade these are not being sent to the customers. The lack of the necessary raw materials has led to a state of enforced idleness at the factory collective.

The railcars loaded with raw materials remain in Agdam under the gaze of the so-called heroes of the Azerbaijan People's Front. These heroes are awaiting a reply from the people of Artsakh [NKAO], hoping that in the face of this pressure the Artsakhians will forgo the idea of reunification with Armenia. However, the people of Artsakh have long since given their reply and are themselves waiting for a reply from above.

Unfortunately, so far there is no force which has been able to bring the unbridled brigands of our roads to heel.

Moscow, Azerbaijan Urged To Compensate Armenians

NC0111140389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Report by Mavro Danielyan from the (?Yerevan) station of the Transcaucasian railways; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Danielyan] The declaration of an extraordinary situation in Armenian railways was necessitated by the tense situation created by Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia. There are enormous problems, including the difficulty of a timely unloading of more railcars than usual and the time-consuming process of checking each car carrying pillaged and ransacked freight and spoiled foodstuffs which takes longer than (?15 minutes). [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified railway official] We now know what happened in Azerbaijan during the blockade. All the railcars were pillaged and ransacked.

[Danielyan] Our deputies proposed at the USSR Supreme Soviet that Azerbaijan should bear all expenses for damage done to the railcars while in Azerbaijan. Nobody took this demand [word indistinct]. Nevertheless, our Council of Ministers set up a commission to assess the damage. [passage omitted]

Those accompanying the trains, Yerevan station officials, and customers and directors of enterprises have cabled Moscow about the pillaged and ransacked freight but have received no reply. [passage indistinct] The damage done to the disaster-stricken Armenia by the blockade must be borne by Moscow and Azerbaijan together.

Air Link Between Armenia, NKAO Continues

NC0211114189 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] The helicopters of the Armenian Civil Aviation Department at Kamo airport have made 10 short-distance flights carrying more than 300 passengers and a quantity of agricultural goods to Shaumyan, Mardakert, Getashen, and Hadrut.

This route has in fact became a lifeline. Since 1 September this year, the helicopters have made 145 flights. Flour, soap, foodstuffs, and clothing are the main goods that are being transported to Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

Charity organizations, enterprises, and organizations are engaged in the patriotic work of assistance to their brothers under blockade. The Tbilisi charity organization has sent nearly 15 tonnes of sugar and flour. The citizens of Yakutiya have sent foodstuffs and clothing worth R 23,000.

Though the Azerbaijan air traffic control centers deliberately do not respond to the calls of the helicopters, and thus create dangers for the correct positioning and landing of the helicopters, the crew of the united aviation team of Moscow [Moskovayi miatsyal aviadzhukati andznakazmi] is carrying out the scheduled flights under the prevailing extraordinary conditions.

The stockpiling and transportation of foodstuffs and other priority items are continuing.

Day of Remembrance for Armenian Earthquake Set

LD3010211389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] The memory of the victims of the earthquake that took place on 7 December last year in Armenia is recalled with pain in the hearts of people. At a conference of the Leninakan party organization it was proposed to hold, on its anniversary, a day of remembrance for the victims of the earthquake. Many labor collectives of the republic have made this proposal. By decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 7 December 1989 has been declared a day of remembrance for the victims of the earthquake.

Burlatskiy Views Concept of 'Open Society'

90UN0130A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Oct 89 p 11

[Report on interview with Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy by T. Menshikova: "And Now, for Open Society..." under general rubric "Open Society"; date and place not specified; first three paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] The notion "open society" has existed in the West for a long time. However, this is not at all an ideological postulate of Western propaganda; this is a concept of such an arrangement of social relations which provides optimal guarantees for peaceful development in our uneasy age.

As recently as several years ago, the concept of "open society" did not apply in any way to our country. Initially it was considered to be a tightly closed system. If we are serious about seeking a new image of socialism with a human face we should understand that aspiring to a society open to people and to ideas is the requirement of our time. This process is very complex. The fear of our neighbors is still rooted in our consciousness. We have yet to create reliable guarantees of observing human rights, become a "traveling society," remove obstacles to information, and enter the world market of goods and ideas. However, the process has begun....

In our new column, we would like to report on how the struggle for our civil rights is proceeding, how the contacts of Soviet people with the people of other countries are developing at a nongovernmental, nonstate level, and on new creative initiatives and the "Russia abroad" culture. The "Open Society" column will become a place for meetings and dialogues of scientists and cultural personalities from various countries.

[Menshikova] Fedor Mikhaylovich, 2 years ago our newspaper published your article on international journalism. It touched on the issue of "open society" for the first time. Taking into account your new experience, what have you added to what you said then?

[Burlatskiy] Perhaps, you are right. As we accumulate the experience of a freer society we begin to perceive in a new way our place in the contemporary world and take a more critical attitude toward ourselves. The notion "open society" or, as they sometimes say, "open information society" has appeared in recent decades. It has appeared under the influence of the processes of integration which are under way in the contemporary world. I am not going to dwell on the situation which existed several centuries ago when continents were divided by oceans as well as by cultures and traditions. However, even on the eve of World War II the new vision of the world which modern people are developing was out of the question.

Here is an elementary example. This always strikes me in dealing with my Western colleagues, scientists and journalists: When you arrange a meeting with one of them, he leafs through his appointment book and says: On the 15th of the month I am going to be in Tokyo, on the 21st I have a lecture in Paris, but on Wednesday I can see you here in San Francisco.

Thus far, this unfortunately is an improbable thing for us. An entirely new system of communications has developed in the world, and at issue here are communications through information rather than transportation. Man's concepts concerning his potential are changing correspondingly. I believe that even such a titan of thought as Albert Einstein would be surprised by the opportunity to obtain within seconds a tremendous amount of information from any point on the globe. A revolutionary turnaround has apparently occurred in the recent 2 to 3 decades—first a technological one, then communicative, and subsequently psychological.

[Menshikova] That is to say, a new mentality of world proportions has been born....

[Burlatskiy] It is being born. This issue has an important economic aspect, and not just a humanitarian one. Let us look at the pattern which the Common Market has demonstrated for us. Goods travel without barriers, as does money, labor, and—which is particularly important—ideas. I once bought a small tape recorder in Paris and at home I found out that it was made in China....

Scientific-technical civilization is the foundation which creates a new philosophy of open society, a new mode of thinking and behavior. There is nothing more dangerous than a curtain between social systems and cultural civilizations.

The most terrible thing we have inherited from Stalin's and to a degree Khrushchev's period, and even more from the Brezhnev decades, is isolation. The idea was dominant that we should be an isolated national economic complex, and that this was altogether to our advantage. Before the war, there was virtually no exchange of goods, except for the tremendous deliveries of foodstuffs to Hitler. We recalled with gratitude how Mikoyan brought popsicles from America in the 1930's, the only breakthrough into the Western structure of consumption. However, humanitarian isolation, when the window on Europe was boarded shut, was still more frightening. Just a handful traveled abroad, moreover more often than not the handful wearing army boots, although also in civilian clothes, or selected scientists and writers to demonstrate that there still was culture left in our society.

[Menshikova] It is believed that the ideology of isolation, of neglect for European cultural values bloomed in our country after the war, especially when the bugaboo of cosmopolitanism appeared. However, you are right, all of it began much earlier. As early as the beginning of the 1930's it became commendable to extol everything domestic and denounce everything foreign. Quite complex historical and ideological configurations emerged....

[Burlatskiy] Psychological configurations as well which dated back to Russia before the revolution. It is necessary to study in particular how this psychological phenomenon evolved. After all, the Russian Empire arose not only due to imperial might. No, the Russian was naturally open for communicating with other people. This is why many people gravitated toward Russia and sought its protection.

On the other hand, there was this astonishing fear and rejection of everything foreign. Look at Peter the Great, who carried out a violent coup and attempted to forcibly foist on the populace Western standards in military affairs, commerce, and some external forms of life, especially at his court. This ran into enormous internal resistance, and not only by the boyars. The people themselves feared change. It is no accident that everything foreign was discarded with that much difficulty in the post-Peter periods. I am not saying that the German influence has always been positive. Biron and his men have left a gloomy mark on our history....

Sometimes, Stalinism in our country is interpreted quite primitively. The most naive interpretation is that the source of Stalinism lies in Stalin himself, in his bad temper. Other explanations also include the interests of the emerging bureaucratic stratum. As I see it, this is not the whole truth; after all, it ignores the circumstance that Stalinism parasitized on the backward features and traditions of Russian political culture.

I will not refer to tsarist illusions, to the striving to find a leader before whom all people would be equal even kneeling.... However, reserve, isolation, "the iron curtain" which Stalin established—all of that elicited response in the souls of millions of people. Do you remember the slogan "the border is under lock?" Everybody was ecstatic about it. Actually, why should it be locked? It did not occur to anyone that the border should be open. Not to spies—they will penetrate all locks—but for the communication of cultures, for human communication....

A combination of Russian benevolence, good-natured openness toward people, and the rejection of another civilization seems to me to be a strange phenomenon in our experience. This may be associated with the long-lasting striving of Russia, or at least of its advanced and thinking strata, to create some new civilization. At the time of Kievan Rus, we were a part of European civilization. Was it an accident that Prince Vladimir opted for orthodoxy? The feeling of affinity with Greece and Byzantium was a factor. Later—and this may have been the most tragic result of the Tatar-Mongol influence—a new spirit appeared: "We are in a class by ourselves"; there is European civilization, there is Asian civilization, whereas we are something special. We will create the third Roman Empire, a model for the entire Slavic realm, and perhaps for the entire world....

[Menshikova] While changing, this idea has survived to this day. It is curious how it has merged with class motifs, with the mission of liberating all humanity....

[Burlatskiy] In itself, the idea of our Russian socialism is quite closely tied to the striving to create this new civilization because Russian people have a predisposition for a universal solution right away. This is a part of the origins of the claim that the new civilization, which we called socialist, will become a model for the entire contemporary world. Why? Where has this provincial Messianism come from? By now humanity has produced no fewer than 20 historical and cultural civilizations. Nobody can say that one of them is exemplary. When Americans try to impose their model of culture on West Europeans, the Europeans strive to reject it.... Our claim also looked strange.

It is this very internal pretentiousness that has become the source of isolationism which is profoundly flavored by the desire to create something of your own, unlike others.

[Menshikova] This is the "Robinson complex" of sorts. Now we are becoming convinced of how difficult it is to change the very paradigm of thinking. Perhaps you have also encountered this?

[Burlatskiy] We are beginning to feel the need for a fresh look, albeit after a delay, despite very heated discussions still continuing about the same issue which has preoccupied the minds of Russian people since the 17th Century: a special development model versus a part of European culture. It is peculiar all right, inimitable, but a part of European and world culture, and not the tail end of it. After all, if we think about it, Russian culture represented by such top accomplishments as Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Klyuchevskiy, Solovyev, Sorokin, and Berdyayev, who have influenced Europe tremendously, were born in the environment of Europeanization.

Even then, incidentally, as well as now, populism of a pseudo-Narodnik stripe played a most sinister role. I have always been shaken by the fact of the murder of the reformer Alexander II, whereas there was not a single attempt on the life of Nicholas I.

Populism has played a most sinister role in our revolution having become one of its trends. All the cruelty of the revolution and the civil war is associated with it. This populism is in opposition to open society as a system of values such as freedom, human dignity, the independence of an individual from the state, his protection, i.e., everything that is called liberalism—not democracy but exactly liberalism.

[Menshikova] The ideas of liberalism, freedom, a new understanding of personal rights and freedoms began to develop in Europe in the last century. Can we get a second wind as an open society without reconsidering profoundly our notion of individual rights?

[Burlatskiy] The question sounds rhetorical. Certainly, we cannot. We knew democracy as the will of the majority but had no concept of it as the inalienable personal rights of an individual on which nobody has the right to infringe, including the state. For a long time, it was believed in this regard that whatever the West has this way we will have the other way. What is good for the German is harmful for the Russian. While chasing the ghost of universal equality we gave up freedom to a considerable degree. The will of the majority suppressed the aspirations of the minority, and the state suppressed the person....

Indeed, in this area the dead still hold the living by the throat, and the worst traditions impose fetters on our advancement. It was a great misfortune that Russia has not experienced a liberal tradition (it was only emerging in the 19th century) and inalienable human rights. Such a situation was bolstered by another tradition of ours—the merger of lay and clerical authority, of the state and the church—which dates back to the time of Peter. To be sure, Peter himself did not claim to be the leading ideologue, but he completely subordinated the church to the bureaucracy. In her turn, Catherine desired to be not only the autocrat, but the enlightener of her epoch. Alexander I, who in the beginning of his reign did not shy away from liberal ideas, somehow split himself being embodied in two personifications, the state through Arakcheyev and the spiritual through Speranskiy.... Nicholas I censored Pushkin and his great grandson dissolved the Duma in the name of the spiritual unification of a nation facing a war.

The West has not known anything like this. As is known, Louis XVI "tolerated" Voltaire.... On the other hand, in our country a combination of political and ideological elements has become a tradition. In Lenin's case, it was still comprehensible because he gained power as an ideolog. However, we know how much effort Stalin expended in order to don the mantle of the premier theoretician of the party, a scientist and a priest, and turn everyone else into obedient "laymen."

There was simply nothing for the liberal ideas as the very foundation of an open society to develop from. The shoots which had sprung up and were striking root in Russian soil were cruelly stamped out by Stalinism.

A very simple idea forms the basis of the concept of open society: A modern individual acquires an absolutely new level of needs which have to be met. We suffer in our stores and in our repugnant cafes; however, the lack of opportunity to meet other needs is much more poignant. Let us take, for example, the need for an absolutely different standard of information. Everyone needs to have a choice.

I visited a village not far from Amsterdam. To be sure, you cannot call it a village in the meaning we are accustomed to: beautiful houses, canals.... However, this is not the point. One dish antenna about 3 meters in diameter is installed for all. About 100 TV channels could be viewed in the house I visited. For now, we are merely "sizing up" this kind of need. Technical resources are lacking; however, thus far there has been no perception that they are necessary either.

This is why a new, modern person forms the basis of the idea of open society. I cannot call him a cosmopolitan, or, as they said in the period when the League of Nations was being created, a citizen of the world. This is just a man with a new way of thinking.

[Menshikova] Therefore, does it look, Fedor Mikhaylovich, that along our path to an open society we have more negatives than positives thus far? There is no technical potential and the new needs have not evolved yet.... Judging by your statements in the present capacity of chairman of the parliamentary committee for humanitarian, scientific, and cultural cooperation there is no appropriate legislation which would help in implementing the international obligations assumed.

The thought occurs as to whether raising the issue of an open society at present is utopian in itself and premature at present.

[Burlatskiy] No. I am absolutely convinced that it is not premature. Why are the laws being late? There is no particular difficulty in developing them because models are available. The United Nations organization has adopted over 100 major documents which set forth the main human rights—freedom of convictions, freedom of conscience, freedom of movement, freedom to create social organizations, and many others—the broadest spectrum of rights and freedoms. Even now this code of norms prepared may be used for developing our laws. Of course, the idea is not to apply them automatically; they need to be adjusted in line with our conditions. However, there is everything in this Pandora's box. Incidentally these norms have been developed in many countries of the modern world, both developed and developing. We can compare, choose, and find a solution. I believe that the main reason for the slowdown in law development in various departments is psychological; it is the almost organic fear of new norms taking our society in some wrong direction.

[Menshikova] Say there are apprehensions that if we guarantee the freedom of movement and adopt a law on entering and exiting our country this will undermine the system of national security and, in addition, cause an outburst of pro-emigration attitudes....

[Burlatskiy] We do not always deal with rational arguments. So they say a brain drain will begin. Supposedly this is a rational argument. However, just because an attack by bandits on your house is a possibility you do not surround it with guns and machine guns.

Personally, I am convinced there will be no brain drain. Even if someone leaves, it will not result in substantial losses. There are many reasons. The first is that for Soviet people it is very difficult to adjust to the circumstances of life in Western societies.

[Menshikova] Indeed, they wait to be given things, invited, and taken care of. From our childhood on, we have been conditioned to expect favors from the state.

[Burlatskiy] Not just that. The level of skill is the main point. Backward technology cannot give rise to advanced science. Certainly there are breakthroughs, especially in the sphere of theory, because our people are talented. However, with my apologies to the scientists, our science is at a level of industrial development. On one occasion, a respected Western scientist told me that we make 1 percent of the major discoveries. It is not easy even for future sovietologists. For example, Americans dislike sovietologists of Soviet origin, and simply do not trust them and their objectivity.

Leaving in order to replenish the ranks of garbage collectors or for an engineer to become a cab driver is not too enticing a prospect.

Temporary trips are normal, and even emigration is normal. If people want to live in another country it is their business. If they want to come back having suffered a disappointment it is all right, let them come back.... The other side is the very opportunity to go abroad, to travel....

[Menshikova] The inclination so far has been to view this problem as elitist; supposedly you are taking up the cause of the intelligentsia in this instance, and the people have nothing to do with this as they have other concerns.

[Burlatskiy] Travel should become standard not only for the select few or those hand-picked on the basis of personal particulars. They should become standard for absolutely any person living in Moscow, Tallinn, Vladivostok, or any village in Siberia.... There already are changes in this matter. People from all regions in our country travel abroad at the invitation of their relatives. However, we should become a traveling society just as the countries of Europe and America have become. This is a part of life of the civilization of our earth which is primarily significant for every person. Seeing Paris, Rome, Tokyo, Singapore... this revolutionizes one's conscience, this makes an individual modern, open....

[Menshikova] ....and not just the individual; it improves the spiritual well-being of the nation. Let us note that sociologists are registering with alarm the growth of the feeling of inferiority, disenfranchisement....

[Burlatskiy] Quite rightly so. The complex of backwardness, being downtrodden and on the periphery, provincialism is both the cause and the consequence of isolation.

However, there is another aspect as well. After all, why are we lagging behind so badly? They frequently talk angrily about the management and bureaucracy. All of that is true, but how do the people themselves work?

Our mounting technical backwardness is the retribution for the isolation of our society. For as long as the Soviet people are not made aware of the tremendous shifts under way in the world, for as long as they are not given an opportunity to compare their labor with the labor and skill of foreign workers, farmers, and scientists, we will not be able to develop efficiently. After all, we cannot delude ourselves by comparisons with the year 1913! The attitude "I am in a class by myself" has become hopelessly obsolete. In the West the workers are not at all a nondescript, downtrodden, manipulated mass. Quite the opposite, they know how to work well, creatively, and hard. Americans frequently say that the Japanese steal 40 percent of their technical innovations. I always respond: Great! This means they are learning from you, and now you "steal" and learn from them. As far as we are concerned, it is only natural for us to open our eyes and look at the world, and to learn how to learn.... For 70 years our misfortune has been the fact that we have tried to instruct others, have come to believe that everything that is ours, Soviet, is superior, and have been giving condescending pats on the back not only to East European, but also to West European countries.... The ability to travel abroad is a necessary, vital element of restoring the health of our economy, culture, and consciousness.

This is why in my new capacity as chairman of the parliamentary commission I have been working so hard to ensure absolutely new opportunities for every Soviet man. I believe that every citizen should have a passport valid for 10 years, and have the right to 200 foreign-currency rubles. Beyond that, everything depends on the activity of people, on how sociable they are. At present, several hundred thousand persons a year travel to the countries of the West. A total of 1.5 million travel to all countries. I am ashamed to say it, but about 4 million traveled to the countries of the West from old Russia. Can you imagine how "unsociable" we appear to the world?

The "iron curtain" should be broken, and broken right now. Otherwise, we will not survive.

Certainly there are social aspects involved here which touch on the contacts our society particularly needs. I have met with the prime minister of Italy, Andreotti. He has referred to "a republic of scientists." The concept is for the scientists to have free passports not requiring visas and to be able to travel at any time where they like. This is a very tempting idea, and I believe we will support it. We need scientific exchanges first of all. Besides, scientists exert great influence on public opinion. A change in the perception of our policy by the West is to a great degree due to the new views held by Western scientists, as well, of course, as politicians and journalists. [Menshikova] As I see it, student exchanges are no less important....

[Burlatskiy] In this sphere as well, we are at a level of the mid-19th Century. I will again refer to Peter I, who attached great significance not only to the training of young men abroad in the art of navigation or fortification, but also to partaking in the culture of Europe. At present, we have a different level; as a whole, our society is educated (although, perhaps, not very civilized as these are not one and the same); therefore, we may not only borrow but have something to offer. I am hurt and saddened by the fact that China has approximately 50,000 students abroad, of which about 30,000 are in the United States. We barely have 150. This is one of the most evident signs of isolation and being closed, which have not been overcome. They say that it is difficult to establish an exchange due to the need to observe parity. However, many countries are prepared to give us preferential treatment in this sphere; besides, we have a great many universities.

Seriously, we need to ensure within a very short period of time the opportunity to study abroad for tens of thousands of our students, thousands of graduate students, thousands of students at various management schools....

[Menshikova] There is one more important issue—emigres, Soviet people abroad. We considered them to be traitors, they somehow did not exist as far as the motherland was concerned.

[Burlatskiy] Meanwhile, there are no fewer than 3 million Russians alone among them, an equal number of Ukrainians, Belorussians, emigres from the Baltic area, a million Armenians, and so on.

Your readers will forgive me for one more comparison with China; I have worked on China a lot and found a strange paradox: The Chinese who live abroad are very patriotic as far as China is concerned regardless of the regime which existed there, regardless of the cataclysms, including the Cultural Revolution. They transfer billions of dollars to China, to say nothing of their work as lobbyists in various countries with regard to the policy of the PRC. Our emigres used to be unfavorably disposed toward us although many have preserved the spirit of Russian patriotism. We were the reason rather than they. During the entire history of Soviet power, we trampled the emigre community underfoot; going abroad was equated with treason, and in the ideological aspect it was viewed as cosmopolitanism. Family ties were severed, and relatives abroad were carefully concealed.

We carry on these fears.

All those living abroad should have an opportunity to come to the Soviet Union; many of them miss their native areas. This applies not only to the Russians and Ukrainians, but also to the Balts, Armenians, Georgians, and Azeris.... The political aspect of this issue involves changing the nature of our relationship entirely. Many emigres consider our country to be their motherland. Different devices may be used in this matter, including dual citizenship. This is not a universal method; in some countries, dual citizenship is forbidden. However, this opportunity needs to be taken advantage of wherever dual citizenship is allowed.

[Menshikova] Here is a question of an ethical nature. Informal contacts of our people with the West are now developing vigorously—personal contacts, joint initiatives, cooperation through public and informal organizations. This is very good. On the other hand, our fellow countrymen, alas, frequently strike our foreign partners as unreliable and frankly mercenary.

[Burlatskiy] Yes, we encounter deformations in this sphere as well. We may draw an analogy with our cooperatives. The very idea of cooperatives is definitely a vital necessity because in the absence of a powerful cooperative sector the state monopoly will be maintained. However, the nature of the very process of setting up cooperatives is distorted. Hence all the shortcomings. I wrote once that our society is shedding the bonds of a tyrannical totalitarian regime with huge wounds remaining; it exhibits the traits of a corrupted society. This is a great problem; it also affects the pick-up in our business and human contacts with the West. There is a very great deal of bad odor. Many foreigners complain that Soviet people strive to go abroad at any price. Thus far, there has been a lot of froth in informal contacts; euphoria has arisen which is not necessarily good for business. However, it is important to understand that this will pass.

[Menshikova] You have said that an open society is an information society. I understand that this is the topic for a separate extensive conversation. Still, let us try to map out at least the most important points of it.

[Burlatskiy] Let us say, we discontinued the jamming of foreign radio stations, and nothing happened, the sky did not fall. At present, the wave of criticism in our country is higher, and the perception of problems is more profound and sharper than abroad. However, one aspect of the situation has changed little—I mean communication via TV, computer data, and information on the world. To this day, Soviet people receive it second-hand even in Moscow; in the boondocks, they have to be content with what they read in our newspapers, i.e., a very small segment of what is happening on our planet. The main point is that the individual is deprived of an opportunity to select information himself. This problem needs to be solved, and fears in this field as well need to be overcome.

[Menshikova] Otherwise, an adequate concept of the world will not develop. Now we have rapidly replaced "black" propaganda stereotypes with "white," but we are still far from perceiving all the colors of the world.

[Burlatskiy] Some party functionaries strike me in particular. When they appear abroad their consciousness flip-flops. Previously they believed that this was a decaying world which was on its last leg, and now it seems to them all of a sudden that this world has no problems at all. The West is amazed by such transformations. I am profoundly convinced that the issue of plugging into the European and world TV networks has now arisen. There is no escaping it; satellite TV is a question of 1 or 2 years. The latest rear guard battles fought by officials look like child's play in the face of this fact.

On one occasion, I was given a tour of the Library of Congress in Washington which is mainly situated underground. The director of this library, an authoritative figure in the political establishment, Professor Huntington, altogether amazed me. It turns out that new literature published in our country just a month ago is already in the stacks and all data on the publications have been introduced into the computer. Articles published a week ago are already in the computer—in a word, there is a stream of information on any issue. We are only dreaming about this.

At present, a computer system is being created in the USSR Supreme Soviet. We stated our wish to create conditions for the deputies to have access to the entire block of international information. Incidentally, this is a very useful shot in the arm for our journalism and our public opinion. This is the way to avert various diseases, both of complete negation and of absolute laudation. The entire world ought to be open for the Soviet people. We should pass new laws and prepare technological communications for that.

[Menshikova] I would add to the the list of diseases which you have enumerated xenophobia, conceit, and self-abasement worse than pride. It is very important to make consciousness open.

[Burlatskiy] It seems to me that the period of perestroyka has taught us many things. The problems of power and bureaucracy are the first conclusion which has been drawn. The second conclusion has not been drawn yet; it involves the political culture of our people. The tragic events which have unfolded in mutual relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia, in Fergana, Georgia, and the Baltic republics are associated in one way or another with the low level of political culture and its underdevelopment.

Certainly in the sphere of politics, we are still not quite civilized people.

At present as never before, we should learn to think in terms of pluralism, dialogue, and compromise. I am concerned and even frightened by the intolerance and anger which well up during interethnic conflicts, and even during arguments among the intelligentsia. I see in this the danger of restoration of the Stalinist spirit because Stalinism rested on three pillars: imperial illusions, egalitarianism, and cruelty. A primitive belief in the ability to solve some social or ethnic problems by cruel methods remains to this day a heritage of that era which has not been overcome. Only tolerance, dialogue, and compromise will help us untie the knots of interethnic and other conflicts.

In this sense, an open look at the world may be very useful for us.

In a word, the problem of open society is a problem for our present and especially our future. The sooner we discard what by now is not an iron curtain but the still remaining stockade in relations with other countries, the more successfully we will advance toward a civilized society.

Deputies Take Part in Collegium Session

PM3110102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Oct 89 Second Edition p 8

[A. Chernenko report: "Dialogue at the USSR MVD"]

[Text] We have already grown accustomed to the fact that the work of law enforcement organs is becoming increasingly open. Stereotypes are being smashed and excessive secrecy is becoming a thing of the past.

Another step has been taken in this direction. The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] has opened its doors to representatives of the broad public. They have taken a direct part for the first time in a working session of the "holy of holies"—the USSR MVD Collegium. Included were the following USSR people's deputies: Yu. Kalmykov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order; G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations; A. Borodulin; D. Kerimov, member of the provisional committee to combat crime and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; D. Iovlev; and T. Shamba.

This in many respects determined the atmosphere of the collegium's work—the discussion held by Minister V. Bakatin and the deputies was exacting and most specific and frank. Attention centered on questions of interethnic relations and problems of international education for militia staffers and internal troops servicemen.

In this respect the discussion of the report by A. Anikiyev, chief of the USSR MVD Political Directorate, assumed the nature of an uncompromising study of the complex and sometimes painful problems that have accumulated in this sphere. The long-term plans of the ministry collegium, the political directorate, and the cadre apparatus were substantially amended by the people's deputies in the course of the discussion and were brought closer to real life and to society's urgent requirements.

Without doubt, this first experiment in direct working dialogue between legislators and professionals deserves to become a constant feature in the joint activity of the USSR MVD, other law enforcement bodies, and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Conference To Consider October Revolution History

PM2410154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Oct 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Scientific Conference"]

[Text] An All-Union Scientific Conference that opened yesterday in Moscow is dedicated to the history of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is timed to coincide with the 72d anniversary of Great October. The conference is being held by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Science Council and the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

The participants will examine problems associated with the participation of the people's masses in the revolution and the role of the individual in history, the democratic alternative offered by October, the prospects offered by the transitional period, the national factor in the October Revolution, and dual rule in the country in 1917. Prominent academics and historians will deliver reports.

The conference will last 3 days.

Medvedev Meets With Moscow Workers 2 Nov

LD0311045889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 2 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Politburo member] Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev met with the working collective of the Moscow Kauchuk works today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] They say that if there is production, there are problems. This very old Moscow enterprise is no exception to the rule. [video shows outside of works, followed by sequences showing work with rubber parts inside the factory; Medvedev is shown walking around inside the works, inspecting workplaces and talking to officials and workers] The problems here, just as probably at all old works, are identical. It is said that some foreigners once wanted to buy the equipment here for a museum. There are models dating to 1898. They were not allowed to buy the equipment as there was nothing to replace it. There are old machine tools inside old walls. If one considers that almost all the profit—83 percent—is transferred by the works to the state budget, then one can understand how difficult it is for the collective, which incidentally has gone over to financial autonomy, to develop production, and even simply to keep workers. Last year, 360 people quit, and almost as many have done the same this year. Of course, this is exactly what was raised, first and foremost, in the workshops, in the talk with workers.

[First worker] Generally people work in this section. This is where the main assembly of this item takes place, and women work here. Forty-one operations, and all of them manual.

[Medvedev] How much is the pay for this work, for this very rare work?

[First worker] Now, after an increase... Now if one does not overfulfil the plan—they have piece work here—they have begun to receive something like R250. There is no mechanization.

[Second worker] Things are bad with housing. They are not building here at all.

[First worker] Here it is so bad without money to mechanize. You know, I even inquired...

[Medvedev] But you have been given all of that?

[Second worker] No. I am living in a communal flat.

[Medvedev] In a communal flat?

[Second worker] Yes.

[Medvedev] Yes, that is bad.

[Correspondent] Indeed, the works has not received any housing at all these past 2 years. It could have built some itself, but the city is quite unable to allocate land for the construction. And this is not the only example where initiative is being shattered against administrative walls. The people also are prepared to conduct reconstruction. They have procured for currency machine tools and a complete kit workship with the assistance of the ministry, but since April of last year, it is still lying idle. There is no permission for its assembly. [Video shows new quipment lying outside in the works yard; factory chimneys belching out smoke] And so the old units continue to blacken the sky over Moscow. Neither the Muscovites nor the works need that. It is obvious that the converstaion at today's meeting was not confined to the works' problems. It is not so often that workers get a chance to so directly clarify with a Politburo member the issues concerning them: the destiny of perestroyka, the prospects for development of our economy, and the plans of the party are what concerned the workers. Replying to their questions, Vadim Andreyevich stressed in particular: [Medvedev] Our main difficulties and troubles do not lie in perestroyka. They are for us a legacy of the past, and they have their roots in the former system of administration, in the former system of organization of the forms of our public life, in insufficient democracy, in the fact that there was not enough thinking about the wants of people and of individuals. This is the point. Of course, comrades, the problems connected with the restructuring in our party have been advanced to today to one of the foremost places. Our party was the initiator of the perestroyka. It has taken upon itself and has called fire down upon itself, having subjected its activity in the past period, in the past periods in the history of our country, to the most severe and unprejudiced criticism, and it has called for a cleansing, for onward movement, so as to bring our society onto a qualitatively new level of development. Even today the party is the guarantor of perestroyka. [Video shows Medvedev addressing workers in small conference hall] [end recording]

Secretary Girenko Visits Moscow Plant Collective

PM0311164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Belief in the Success of Perestroyka"]

[Text] The difficult problems which our country has to resolve in the course of perestroyka and the concerns and needs of the multimillion-strong working class are mirrored in the daily life of Moscow's "Krasnyy Proletariy" plant, one of the oldest in the capital. A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the plant 2 November.

The participants in a conversation which began in the office of the plant's general director, Yu.I. Kirillov, and later continued in the shops and construction areas paid special attention to the modernization of the enterprise, which recently marked its 130th anniversary. It is hard to believe but the ultramodern output of the plant's workers—lathes with digital program control—is produced in the cramped, ramshackle, and soot-blackened buildings dating back to before the revolution. The construction of new production premises was planned long ago but the plant workers' plans have still not been implemented because...they clashed with the wishes of the residents of the capital's Oktyabrskiy Rayon. The latter objected among other things to the construction of standard plant buildings alongside an architectural monument—the Donskoy monastery. A heated debate on ways to resolve the protracted conflict between construction workers and the lovers of antiquity also flared up today on the subject of the prepared foundation site where what is essentially a new automated plant is to be built. Compromise solutions satisfying the sides involved must be found and implemented in the very near future, A.N. Girenko stressed.

Another equally acute construction problem at the plant is that of housing. There has been a waiting list for apartments for years and there is no end in sight to it. It is true, though, that the Krasnyy Proletariy workers have been promised a part of the 22-story block that is being built in Lyublinskiy Rayon—in exchange for a pledge to carry out decoration work there.

In the assembly shop the conversation centered on a new problem encountered by the plant in recent years—cadre turnover. Many skilled workers are leaving to join cooperatives, lured away by higher pay and better working conditions.

"Do not hinder the development of cooperative production, enter into healthy competition with it," A.N. Girenko said in this regard. " 'Smarten up' the social sphere and achieve higher qualitative indicators than the cooperative workers and you will retain your best cadres."

At a subsidiary of the plant at the other end of town the visitor was familiarized with examples of long-term output—processing centers and robot equipment. A.N. Girenko supported the Krasnyy Proletariy workers' desire to develop cooperation with leading foreign firms (for example, with the West German company Emag), which will accelerate the process of creating highly efficient equipment capable of competing in the world market. The intention of Moscow machine builders to increase production and expand the range of consumer goods deserves every support, he noted.

Giving your TASS correspondent his impressions of the visit to the plant, A.N. Girenko said among other things:

"The Krasnyy Proletariy workers' belief in the success of perestroyka and their conviction that the considerable difficulties and obstacles in the way of the economic reform will eventually be overcome is heartening. The open and honest dialogue with working people concerned not only for their own narrow production problems but also for everything to do with our country's life—be it the forthcoming elections to the local soviets or ways to eliminate interethnic conflicts—was truly satisfying."

CPSU Secretary Usmanov Visits Moscow Plant

PM0311111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Future Is Born Today"]

[Text] The history of Moscow's Vladimir Ilich Electromechanical Plant goes back almost 150 years. Today this enterprise produces output which plays an important role in the national economy. The Ilich Plant workers produce consumer goods worth almost R10 million.

At the same time the plant collective is going through a difficult period: Much equipment is obsolete, and the labor-intensiveness of production is growing. A comprehensive program for retooling the enterprise, including the construction of new blocks and the startup of production, is designed to rectify matters.

G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized himself with the state of affairs at the plant 2 November. He visited shops and laboratories and talked with workers and engineering and technical personnel.

It was pointed out in conversation with production workers that the time has come to put the modernization program into practice. Simultaneously with an increase in capacities there will also be a substantial change to the range of products produced. Series production of industrial lasers, complete controlled-velocity electric drives, and production lines with electron accelerators will be organized. Consumer goods have not been forgotten either—above all, washing machines.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the site where the enterprise's new blocks are being built. Despite the fact that they are being constructed not far from a residential area, its population need not be concerned: The plant is being modernized by creating ecologically clean production.

What is preventing the collective from making faster progress? In their replies to this question from the CPSU Central Committee secretary the production workers named, among other causes, deficiencies in the project's feasibility study, the suppliers' unobligingness, and increased spending on the production of certain types of output. All these circumstances are worsening the plant's financial position in conditions of work with full economic accountability. Mention was also made of difficulties connected with fulfillment of the state order.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about how the Ilich Plant workers are resolving the problem of cadres. A gamble is now being made on creating conditions under which people can reveal their abilities to the full. And for this it is necessary to constantly retrain and instruct cadres.

Concern for the production workers' working and living conditions is one of the chief factors for a stable collective. It was pointed out with satisfaction that the enterprise's working people are regularly supplied with food orders, and a consumer center functions directly on the plant's territory. The plant workers have their own medical center, and a new young pioneer camp is under construction. But the housing problem remains urgent.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary had a meeting with the enterprise party aktiv during which G.I. Usmanov answered numerous questions from Communists.

Leningrad Rally Honors Political Prisoners

LD0211115889 Vilnius Domestic Service
in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Leningrad: On 30 October a rally to commemorate political prisoners was held in Leningrad outside the Lenin sports and concert complex. The rally, which was organized by the Leningrad People's Front, the Union of Democrats, and the organization "Memorial," was attended by 5,000 people.

Issues discussed at the rally were the future state governed by law and order and the position of political prisoners.

A decision was adopted at the rally that all democratic movements should take part in the 7 November festive parade with slogans such as: No to the power of monopolies!; All power to the people!; and Democracy through a multiparty system!

Leningrad Front Discusses Economic Issues

PM0211111389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Special correspondents A. Gamov and A. Molokov report: "Notes From Conference of Leningrad United Front of Working People: Commitment and Constructiveness"]

[Text] The expectations of those who had intended to attend another rally of the Leningrad United Front of Working People [UFWP] were not entirely borne out, because there was no rally. In fact, it had not even been planned. The items placed on the UFWP conference agenda—on taxing the wage fund of state enterprises, on granting state enterprises and cooperatives equal economic conditions, on the UFWP economic platform, on working people's power—demanded a serious and thoughtful approach. They could scarcely be discussed in detail at a brief, spontaneous rally at which emotions often overshadow rigorous and balanced assessments.

But, seemingly, the workers and members of broad strata of the scientific intelligentsia of Moscow, Leningrad, the Baltic area, Volga area, and other regions of the country—and there were more than 2,000 people in the "Yubileynyy" Sports Palace that day—were concerned not so much with the form as with the nature and purpose of the debate, and one could understand them. Our society is going through a complex and crucial period. The fierce polemics have moved into the economic sphere again. It is clear that the renewal process is not going to be accelerated without solving eonomic problems.

"One cannot imagine a more effective brake on perestroyka, the development of scientific-technical progress, and the improvement of labor productivity than a decision to freeze pay," Leningrad "Svetlana" Association engineer G. Turetskiy stressed.

Nor could the conference participants ignore the problems connected with cooperatives' activities.

"While the country scrabbles for funds to increase pensions and the wages of the lowest-paid categories of working people," "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association engineer T. Yegorova said in her speech, "various entrepreneurs and businessmen are rolling in it. The filthy scum must be scraped off the cooperative movement as soon as possible!"

The publication on that very day of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on regulating cooperatives' activity was most opportune. It prohibits cooperatives from engaging in commodity purchasing and middleman activity that involves buying up industrial and food commodities in the state trade and consumer cooperative retail and wholesale network and reselling them.

It was stressed in the speeches that the orientation toward private ownership, profit, and the market has resulted in rapid social stratification. Categories of people are appearing who are able to exist without working, and their numbers are growing all the time.

"The impression is that some economists have become the ideologists of the advocates of the new-style New Economic Policy, for whom the 'Get Rich!' slogan has become a guide to action," Prof A. Sergeyev of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement remarked. "Former secret millionaires are being legalized either as members of pseudocooperatives or as socialist landlords. And it cannot be said, of course, that everyone is having a bad time today. Some people are now doing very nicely."

Many speakers proposed a monetary reform in the country that involves changing bank notes without notification and raising or lowering the ruble rate.

The UFWP economic platform was brought to the attention of the conference participants. It was set out in the reports by Leningrad State University academics V. Yelmeyev, V. Dolgov, and M. Popov and was developed in the speeches by Professor A. Sergeyev; A. Yeremin, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics; R. Opokina, chief of a Yaroslavl Oblast Soviet Executive Committee department; S. Strebkov, lecturer at the Kuybyshev Planning Institute; S. Karvanin, electrician at the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Association; I. Krasavin, mechanic at the "Russkiy Dizel" Association, and others. The main thrust of the discussion was neither criticism nor negation of what is already being done within the framework of the economic reform being conducted in the country. The main speakers set out to validate the consumer-value approach to economic development, wherein it would be based on economy of labor and not on expenditure.

"Scientific-technical progress today is effectively in a dead-end situation," Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Dolgov said in part. "And it will remain thus as long as profit remains the main criterion of economic activity—as the goal of this activitiy, moreover, rather than as a source of material incentive. As long as you can increase profits by raising prices, state enterprises will be operating in a mode of acquiring unearned income. To halt this process I propose the diametrically opposite indicator—an overall reduction in the prices of produced output."

The conference confirmed the conclusion of the inaugural congress of the United Front of Working People of Russia to the effect that the program of transformations in our economy should be geared to indicators reflecting the level of satisfaction of people's needs, labor saving , and higher-quality products. Emphasis was placed on the need to make the growth of labor productivity and improvement of working people's living standards directly dependent on one another.

Another important question that generated lively discussion at the conference was that of working people's power. USSR People's Deputy and Supreme Soviet member V. Yarin set the tone. He talked about the danger posed to socialism and to society by the removal of the working person from the country's leadership. His view is that local soviets should be bicameral. One chamber would comprise deputies elected in industrial okrugs via labor collectives; the other would comprise deputies elected in territorial okrugs and residential areas. K. Fedotov, a docker at the commercial seaport, presented his idea of elections via combined industrial-territorial okrugs. This was opposed by USSR People's Deputy Yu. Popov, deputy director of the Bekhterev Scientific Research Institute of Psychoneurology. A polemical exchange broke out on this issue.

The conference by and large approved the Yarin-Fedotov proposals.

But, out of fairness, it has to be said that the Leningrad conference was not entirely free of the negative features of rallies. And it was not only the continual shouts by certain young extremists—the outbursts were soon quelled by the other participants. The UFWP's "radical" slogans, displayed for all to see, did not promote a businesslike exchange either.

Nevertheless, it was a serious discussion. The workers of Leningrad have once again demonstrated their steadfastness and devotion to the ideas of perestroyka.

Front Activities Noted

PM1710131989 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 12 Oct 89 p 8

[Kristina Rotkirch article: "Leningrad—a Paralyzed City"]

[Excerpt] "The poverty which we are experiencing is comparable to that of the postwar period," Leningraders say. "But then we had the catastrophe behind us. Now it will come in 18 months, or 2 years at the outside."

The tea ration is one small packet per person per month. There are also shortages of sugar, soap, and laundry detergent. Grain and dairy products are available, but anything else is scarce. Leningraders know that the food for which they stand in line and which they take home to their children could be harmful. They know that fetal amd infant mortality is alarmingly high.

"Don't you Finns fear the day when we will come pouring over the border?" my taxi driver asked me.

"But, of course, we'll do our best to leave the Communists behind, and the Jews too."

No one has any faith any more in the party apparatus or in any of the authorities. It does not help that the police chief goes on television to do a little advertising—"We have been given new cars and increased wages, so there is no need for people in Leningrad to be anxious about riots or pogroms." People know that the police refuse to protect the private cooperatives from the mafia. And in this country where technology is scarce you see in people's homes the most ingenious contraptions to counter the rising tide of burglaries.

In the midst of this economic and social decay, a constructive new force is at work—the Leningrad People's Front. It is a movement born out of the intelligentsia's opposition to the ever-stronger reactionary, sometimes openly fascist currents in Leningrad. Its leader is called Marina Sallier [name as published], prominent as a geologist, but a novice in politics.

"Thank God that we are able to learn from the Balts. Our People's Front is closely allied to the Baltic People's Fronts, and like them, we call for radical economic reforms, an independent trade union movement, and real democracy with direct elections and social control over the organs of power. We are also working for a multiparty system and for the right of national self-determination in the republics.

"In the atmosphere of pessimism and decay in which we live the most important thing at present is to act constructively. We have 12 groups, in which highly qualified people are working out concrete proposals for the economy, ecology, culture, and social safeguards—all areas which are crumbling before our very eyes."

But how is the People's Front to reach the people? The official media most often give it the thumbs-down. The People's Front has many sympathizers among journalists, but time after time completed articles and programs are blocked.

Here too, the fraternal Baltic organizations help. The Leningrad People's Front is given generous space in the Tartu COURIER (organ of the Estonian People's Front's Russian-speaking section), and their own little newspaper, NORTHWEST, is printed, revealingly enough, "somewhere in the Baltic region." People's Front activists successfully sold the paper outside subway stations—until the police recently began to confiscate the papers and fine its sellers.

Like the majority of progressive movements in Moscow and Leningrad, the People's Front has not achieved the status of a registered organization. This means major practical problems and a total lack of legal rights in the eyes of the authorities.

But despite all this, a few weeks ago the People's Front arranged something as remarkable as the first conference for the Soviet People's Fronts and democratic movements. There were participants from 10 republics and around 80 organizations.

"The conference was necessary," Marina Sallier said.

"The crisis is getting worse and national antagonisms are everywhere becoming more acute. We already have a war in Nagorno-Karabakh. Blood has flowed in Tbilisi, Fergana, and Abkhazia. Moldavia will explode at any minute. Here in Leningrad there is an aggressive Russian nationalism which is chiefly directed against the Jews. We can see the catastrophe coming. The central common task of the democratic forces is to try to avert it."

In a resolution the assembled People's Fronts stated that they are active in a disintegrating colonial empire. And they declared: "Each people must have the right to constitute themselves as a national-political autonomous entity. They must have the right to choose their own constitution and enter into alliances as they see fit."

Marina Sallier believes that the conference of people's fronts in Leningrad will go down in history. From general principles and a sharp condemnation of the reprisals in China, the delegates worked their way to statements on the situation in the various republics. At times this work was laborious and full of conflicts—for example, Abkhazians and Georgians were sitting around the same table.

"The only real disappointment came from the Azerbaijan People's Front, which withdrew at the last minute. We had hoped that Armenians and Azerbaijanis would talk to each other for the first time here in Leningrad. But we have to try to maintain the contacts. Yesterday a representative of the Russian population in Baku rang. Now that the Armenians have fled, the Russians are in danger. There have already been deaths, and the Russians there have asked us for help. Tomorrow two people from the Leningrad People's Front will travel to Baku—a venture not without danger."

The involvement of the people's fronts is necessary for other reasons. Unless the democratic forces consolidate, they will lose the game. That is also the view of those pushing for reforms in the Supreme Soviet, and the Conference of People's Fronts received a visit from the pugnacious historian Yuriy Afanasyev, who with others such as Boris Yeltsin, formed the opposition group, the so-called Interregional Group, in the Soviet parliament.

And as if in a mirror image, the same consolidation is taking place among the reactionary forces, the "aggressively obedient majority" in Afanasyev's phrase. For the last month or two, Leningrad has had its own international movement, the "United Workers' Front," which to an even greater extent than the international front movements in the Baltic countries has been organized from above. Now the international movements in the Soviet Union are also being united under a central organization.

"This is a feature of the party's desperate struggle to maintain its position in the runup to the upcoming local elections," Marina Sallier said. "Here in Leningrad for example, the United Workers' Front is proposing that two-thirds of representatives should be chosen by the largest enterprises in Leningrad. That would be a reversion to the old practice—and it would mean that they would be chosen by the Party."

Direct elections would favor the People's Front over the United Workers' Front. Today almost 80 percent of Leningraders know about the People's Front, and of these, 40 percent take a positive view of it. The corresponding figures on the Workers' Front are 60 percent and 20 percent. Marina Sallier also believes that the Workers' Front will lose support when its dependence on the compromised Party apparatus becomes clear. [passage omitted]

Commission To Reply To Inquiries on Gdlyan Case

LD0211002189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] [First Announcer] This week the Supreme Soviet will be hearing the replies to deputies' requests from a parliamentary commission formed in the summer to inquire into the activities of a group of investigators headed by Telman Gdylan. The deputies are anxious to hear the details of that controversial issue. Here is [as heard] the details.

[Second Announcer] Investigators Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov investigated for several years the case of high ranking party and government officials charged with taking bribes. They have earned a reputation of determined corruption fighters in the eyes of many people. But last fall both of them came under much criticism. They were accused of resorting to unlawful methods of investigation in a bid to secure evidence supporting their case.

According to Prosecutor General Sukharev, an independent inquiry revealed that they unlawfully placed people into custody, arrested elderly people and mothers with many children and threatened alleged bribe takers. According to him the prosecutor's office received many letters spelling out the violations of the law by the two investigators. Both of them came under fire during a parliamentary debate. Deputy Yakubov, head of the Writers' Union of Ubekistan described the activities of both investigators as they worked on a corruption case in Uzbekistan as a rampage. Deputy (Armen Geldinova), a high school teacher in Kazakhstan, said that Gdlyan broke the law:

[Begin (Geldinova) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] These activities led to lawlessness under cover of democracy. People have been deprived of gurantees that their rights be respected during the investigation. [end recording]

The charges against the two investigators coincided with their statement that a member of the Politburo, Yegor Ligachev, was mentioned as the investigation of corruption cases went on. This gave many people reason to assume that the charges against Gdlyan and Ivanov are a mere attempt to silence them. Gdlyan supported that view as he addressed numerous rallies and as he spoke in parliament to paint a grim picture of all pervasive corruption.

[Begin Gdlyan recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The nation has been swept by a wave of organized crime. Mafia-like groups have seized the levers of political and economic power. [end recording]

In the summer, amid these accusations and counter accusations, the deputies instituted a special commission of inquiry into the affair because both Gdlyan and Ivanov are USSR people's deputies. The commission was given the task of investigating all matters concerned. Addressing a debate at the Supreme Soviet President Gorbachev said that it was a very important matter and all aspects must be investigated in their entirety including the claims made by the two investigators.

[First Announcer] In September, Prosecutor General Sukharev officially announced that the numerous statements of Gdlyan and Ivanov on the alleged involvement of Ligachev in bribe taking are absolutely groundless; the case was closed. This did not sway the supporters of Gdlyan and Ivanov from their resolve to demonstrate that attempts are made to silence them because someone at the top is afraid to back up their case with any concrete facts?

Here is what Vice President Lukyanov said addressing the Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Lukyanov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Gdlyan was given an opportunity to publish articles in the national dailies PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA on two occasions and this has been reported in the press. But he chose not to respond to that offer. [end recording]

Many people are wondering why Gdylan and Ivanov failed to report the evidence that they allegedly had during their numerous addresses to parliament. They had a unique chance to defend their stand because their addresses were reported live on national television but they did not take it up for some reason. So more questions arose after the co-chairman of the parliamentary commission of inquiry, Roy Medvedev, said that the Prosecutor's Office, the Supreme Soviet and the State Security Committee made available to the commission important pieces of evidence and the only party that came with none was the group of Gdlyan and Ivanov. It was still more questions than answers. The signs are that the members of the commission of inquiry have failed to arrive at a shared opinion of the affair, as was indicated by their contradictory statements for the media. They even said that there is no need to hurry. But now deputies have insisted that the commission announce its findings, albeit preliminary.

Gdlyan Interview

*PM0311115289 Rome AVANTI! in Italian
29-30 Oct 89 p 17*

[Interview with Soviet investigating magistrate Telman Gdlyan by Giancarlo Lehner in Rome—date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Lehner] You are the most famous magistrate in the USSR and also one of the leading deputies in the Interregional Group, together with Sakharov, Popov, Yeltsin, Afanasyev, and so forth. How do you view the concentrated attacks which the press, but also Gorbachev, have made against you? They say that you are extremists and irresponsible people and even, using the vocabulary of the thirties, that you have formed a "fascist clique." What is your reply?

[Gdlyan] The members of the Interregional Group are not at all worried. I would first like to say that I have not heard this accusation of "fascism," but we have entered politics and we must get used to criticism, controversy, and attacks. That is in the rules. It should not upset us. However, I hear the accusation of extremism every day. The "right-wingers" regard all our initiatives as "extremist" and "terrorist." This is also normal: But the important thing for us is the people's consensus. The citizens who voted for us regard us as being in the right. The people are with us. For this reason, we are content, because we represent the man in the street. Moreover, democracy starts here, with being truly representative. In short, the voters are more important than the apparatchiks. Their approval amply makes up for the apparatus' criticisms. On the other hand, our duty is to go ahead to change things for the better, without wasting time crying over criticism. An Asian proverb states: "The dog barks, the caravan passes."

[Lehner] Changing things for the better is rather vague: Do you have some model to which you refer?

[Gdlyan] You see, it is right to look to the West carefully and humbly, but we cannot build a pure Western system. Above all, we look to Scandinavian socialism, but we also receive good inspiration from the Italian left—from the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party.

[Lehner] But you say that you are still a Communist.

[Gdlyan] I am opposed to any dogmatism: However, there are ideals which I think are still worth following, because they are human ideals. Communists and socialists drink from the same source, although they have used different receptacles for a long time. If you go back far enough, both make reference to Christianity. The communist tragedy lies in the claim to hegemony: Once in government, they did not allow other parties to survive, inventing a military form of communism and a barrack state. The time for pluralism has now come, changing for the better means going right along the road to democracy.

Values Instead Excessive Emphasis on Ideology

[Lehner] You are therefore no longer communist, because communism means precisely what you condemn.

[Gdlyan] I think you attach too much importance to names. But words can also mean the opposite: Think of Hitler who called himself a national socialist. Let us say that it would now be desirable for the left to abandon all arrogance and move in unity toward a policy which serves mankind. Let us have values instead of excessive emphasis on ideology. I will tell you a personal incident: In 1972, in Yerevan, Armenia, I tried to convert Bishop Vazgen I, one of the local Catholic priests, to communism. After 17 years, I met him in the Soviet: Now I would no longer ask him to change his views. You must respect people, not fight them. I have realized that.

[Lehner] Let us move to a question connected with your fight against the mafia: It seems that Churbanov, Brezhnev's son-in-law, whose activities you investigated, was subsequently given a sentence in a "strict regime" prison, but he now enjoys privileges even in prison, which has been turned into a first class hotel. Is this true?

[Gdlyan] While on remand he enjoyed privileges, even if they were dangerous. He had too many powerful friends, who stood to gain from looking after him or from eliminating him, even through his food. Churbanov is a mine of information on the mafia. I and Judge Ivanov, my colleague, gave precise orders at the time to keep watch on him and have his food prepared solely by staff on duty. We also had to guard against the possibility of suicide. Churbanov knew all Brezhnev's secrets. He was sentenced to 12 years in a "strict regime" prison, but he has an easy life. Why? I think that Churbanov controlled the police and now in prison, the prison reserved for police officers, he is in contact with his former subordinates. He is still a boss and people are afraid of him. He also inspires fear in powerful "friends" who are still at liberty. All it takes is a telephone call and they will do all they can to help Churbanov. This is help motivated by self-interest, aimed above all at controlling him and preventing him from talking.

[Lehner] I apologize, but at this point I must talk about Yegor Ligachev. Do you maintain your accusations against the former Kremlin "number two"?

[Gdlyan] Judge for yourself: There is an interview published in the press in which Usmankhodzhayev, the first secretary of the Uzbek Republic, admitted: "I twice paid Ligachev 60,000 rubles." He is now in prison, because his accusation was also a confession. Ligachev is not in prison, he is free. USSR General Prosecutor Sukharev illegally procured all the documents relating to Ligacehev and other powerful people. Ivanov and I are requesting a proper, not just a superficial, trial of Ligachev and his Central Committee "friends," with judges who are free and independent of the general prosecutor. Paradoxically, the general prosecutor is now putting Ivanov and I on trial. However, this is an appropriate time to call for an independent judiciary and a KGB which is autonomous of the CPSU. The law must be above everything: It is on the basis of this principle that a rule-of-law state is built.

Threats, Intimidation Continue

[Lehner] Is it true that you have been subjected to threats and intimidation?

[Gdlyan] It is a long story. It began when we prepared the trial of Uzbek police chief Ergashev. He was planning an attack on us. We preempted it by arresting him. His "friends," who felt they were lost, persuaded him to "commit suicide" as soon as he left prison. He shot himself in the head at home. But the threats continue: Our supporters' committee has officially requested bodyguards to protect our lives and those of our families. A similar request to the KGB did not receive any reply. I envy your Falcone: I know that he is well protected. He travels in a bullet-proof car, I travel on the subway or in the bus. Are we armed? No. At first, when I handed over the 8 million rubles confiscated from the Uzbek mafia, I was given a gun with three bullets. I said: "Excuse me, if I had to defend myself after the third bullet, what do I do? Do I ask the gangsters to wait for the bureaucratic process to run its course in order to obtain another three bullets?" In the end, even the gun was taken from me. When? Almost as soon as I began to investigate Ligachev.

[Lehner] I would like to hope that you will never need a gun, which would be very expensive, because the first "three-shot" gun cost 8 million rubles. Please answer a final and almost inevitable question: Do you trust Gorbachev?

[Gdlyan] All things considered, I still trust him. I think that Gorbachev is sincere, I do not think he is contemplating authoritarian adventures. The path to democracy is not necessarily irreversible, but we will do our best to ensure that it is. Rest assured that we will do our duty to the end.

Agricultural

Moscow Radio 23-31 October Agricultural Reports

LD2710043489

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 23-25 October, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

23 October

Harvesters finished work today on the Altay's only sugar beet fields, covering more than 60,000 hectares. Contractual and lease hold teams harvested 100 quintals per hectare. (1400)

Kirghiz cotton growers have fulfilled their annual plan for handing over raw cotton to the state: 70,000 tonnes have been dispatched. (1600)

More than 373,000 tonnes of raw cotton has been laid in Tashkent oblast. (1600)

24 October

The annual plan for delivery of raw cotton to the state has been fulfilled in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. 70,000 tonnes have been delivered. (0000)

Irkutsk oblast farmers have fulfilled the state order for selling grain and 250,000 tonnes of grain has been dispatched to the reception points. The early frosts mean that the quality of the grain is not good. (1200)

To date 1,000,000 hectares have been ploughed by machine operators of collective and state farms and other agricultural enterprises of the agroindustrial complex of the Ryazan Non-Blacksoil zone. This is more than the planned task and the main part was ploughed at the most favorable time, August and September (2230)

25 October

Chinese lease contractors in Kirghizia have obtained record tomato yields of 500 quintals per hectare. They arrived this spring from Urumqi and leased 65 hectares. They brought U.S. and Japanese hybrid seeds with them, and when snow and frost destroyed almost all the early vegetables in the Chu Valley in May, the Chinese saved their crops by covering them with sheeting and other items, including their own blankets. (1200)

26 October

More than 750,000 tonnes of cotton have been harvested in Tajikistan since the beginning of the season. (0304)

27-30 October

No relevant items

31 October

Five million tonnes of cotton have been harvested in record time in Uzbekistan. (0200)

Conflicts Arise Over Livestock Procurement Rules

PM0111154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[USSR People's Deputy Yu. Marinichev article under the "Topical Subject" rubric: "Competing... at a Loss"]

[Text] Zhashkovskiy Rayon in Cherkassy Oblast is a long way from Madrid and the local fiestas usually lack bullfights. However, there is the following ordinary and extremely prosaic side to life—livestock procurement. Strange though it may seem, it is this that, as it were, brings the Spanish corrida close to the interests of the Zhashkovskiy collective farm [kolkhoz] members. The only difference being that matadors kill bulls for amusement while everything is done in our country in deadly earnest: The struggle for possession of livestock is mounting between kolkhozes and state farms [sovkhozes] on the one hand and consumer cooperatives on the other.

So there was a noisy fiesta somewhere in Madrid while at about the same time in Zhashkovskiy Rayon N. Borodin, chairman of "Chervona Zirka" Kolkhoz, stopped a local procurement worker's vehicle and, as the saying goes, without ceremony unloaded 14 hogs from it. In the neighboring village of Sorokotyagi N. Vaskovich, chairman of the "40-richchya Zhovtnya" Kolkhoz, also took extremely drastic action with a procurement worker. He banned him from showing his face in the village and contacting local kolkhoz members.

What is happening in Zhashkovskiy Rayon? The same thing as is happening throughout the country. The point is that a directive has now been in force for more than a year regarding the procedure for payment, reimbursement, and calculation of markups on purchase prices for agricultural output. The directive's full title is extremely long so we will just indicate its essence. The document enables kolkhozes and sovkhozes to buy livestock from the population at contract prices. The state covers the difference between the state and contract prices.

How can this be bad, one would think, if a peasant is interested in selling surplus meat? Obviously, V. Semenov, deputy USSR finance minister, V. Zakharov, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board, and A. Iyevlev, chairman of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee, signed the document in this happy conviction.

But now a few words about the damage done by the directive. In our case the effect is comparable to, say, a plague epidemic. Here are the figures. Last year the number of cattle in Ukrainian kolkhozes and sovkhozes alone fell by 127,300 in comparison with 1987. Indeed, why keep a herd if livestock bought from the population can be included in the meat delivery plan?

However you twist and turn, it transpires that the state is providing almost R1 billion in incentives every year for the slaughter of kolkhoz and sovkhoz livestock. That is the amount paid in subsidies to reimburse expenditure. This is indeed freedom of action—the sovkhoz agrees on a price and the state pays.

Perhaps the supply of meat products has improved? In some cities you can see sausages and smoked products in the stores. However, these are mainly products from consumer cooperative enterprises. Thus the aforementioned directive dealt the Central Union of Consumer Societies [Tsentrosoyuz] the most powerful blow. For cooperative members do not receive any subsidies from the state, so they cannot compete with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. To be more accurate, they can. But then the prices of products will rise very tangibly.

So what can Tsentrosoyuz do? If this situation continues, kolkhozes and sovkhozes will monopolize livestock procurement. Already some Tsentrosoyuz meat-processing enterprises are not operating at full capacity. The problem is not only that it is opportune for cooperative members to close down their procurement centers, everyone loses out in this situation.

Competition is certainly necessary, but only under equal conditions and opportunities and not to the detriment of the consumer. Relations cannot be considered normal if a cooperative procurement worker and a sovkhoz worker almost come to blows when they meet on the highway.

The country's government knows about this state of affairs and several departments have been instructed to find a solution to the question. But the departments are in no hurry. It is well known that directives are swiftly drawn up and have a long life, even if they are a great hindrance to people.

Grain Output Up, Quality Down in Irkutsk

PM3010132189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the "Russian News" rubric: "Record Harvest"]

[Text] Irkutsk—Irkutsk Oblast's rural working people yesterday fulfilled their state orders for grain sales. Collective and state farms have delivered 250,000 tonnes of grain to reception centers.

"This year's harvest brought both joys and sorrows to crop farmers in the Angara River Valley," Yu. Shiryayev, deputy chairman of the oblast agricultural association, said. "The harvest yield of about 21 quintals per hectare is a record in the entire history of crop farming in the region. But because of early frosts, grain quality was poor. Even though the full quantity of seed has been laid in, and the sale of wheat, barley, and oats to the state is continuing, many farms have been forced to conduct barter operations in order to stock up on better material."

Military

Mutiny Aboard Missile Cruiser 'Kirov' Denied

PM0211163789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Captain 3d Rank P. Ishchenko report: "'Kirov' Lies at Its Berth"]

[Text] Rumors have spread in recent days that the nuclear-powered missile cruiser "Kirov" supposedly entered Iceland's territorial waters and refused to carry out orders from the Navy Main Staff. There has even been a statement about this in a central newspaper, which published a report entitled "Who Is the Author of the Rumors?" It failed to find the answer to this question or to quash the rumors.

Your permanent correspondent for the Northern Fleet went on board the "Kirov." It is not difficult to visit the ship: It has not been put to sea since August of this year but has lain at its berth.

"We are conducting base training in accordance with the plan," Captain 2d Rank A. Pugachev, the cruiser's deputy commander for political affairs, said. "We are surprised and indignant at the spread of absurd rumors about something that could have been conceived only in the fevered imagination of anti-Sovietists. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev came on board our ship in 1987. He evaluated highly the crew's combat training. Over the 9 years that we have been in the Navy's combat formation we have in no way smirched the honor of the Red Banner 'Kirov' seamen."

Yazov Speaks at Military Command School

PM0311105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Lofty Vocation"]

[Text] On 2 November a meeting took place between Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and cadets and command and teaching personnel of Moscow's Higher Combined Arms Command School named for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

These meetings have become traditional. Today's was given special significance by the fact that it took place on the eve of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The school, whose alumni are known in the history of our motherland and of the Soviet Armed Forces as the Kremlin cadets, is essentially a contemporary of October. It was created on instructions from V.I. Lenin and for over seven decades now has worthily been fulfilling its responsible mission as the forge of red commanders.

The school's alumni, who include many renowned military leaders, chiefs, and commanders and heroes of the Soviet Union have made and are continuing to make a great contribution to the improvement of the Armed Forces' training and combat readiness and to the maintenance of the country's defense capability at an adequate and reliable level.

Army General D.T. Yazov focused the attention of those gathered in the school's assembly hall on the objective need for the high and constant combat readiness of the army and navy and the need to ensure the effectiveness of defense building primarily through qualitative parameters. This need, he stressed, is dictated by the specific conditions of the present-day international situation. Although under the onslaught of the ideas of the new political thinking and the constructive peace-loving course of the USSR and its allies, international tension has diminished somewhat; we have not so far succeeded in making the positive trends which have begun irreversible. Sources of the danger of war remain. Despite the development of the talks process in the disarmament field, the United States and NATO are at present continuing to implement virtually all their long-term military programs, to improve all components of their armed forces, and to build up their combat potential. The training of the NATO states' armies and navies is implemented in accordance with the "direct confrontation" and "flexible response" doctrines, which are by no means defensive in nature. The speeches of these states' politicians and military figures confirm again and again their adherence to the "nuclear deterrent" concept.

All this is a reality which must be taken into account. It is from this reality that the CPSU proceeds in organizing and directing the elaboration and implementation of policy in the field of the country's defense and security and Soviet military doctrine. The defensive orientation of our modern military doctrine is given material form in the practical unilateral steps on all salients of military building and the training and daily activity of the Armed Forces. In the course of 1989-1990 they will be reduced by 500,000 men and there will be a considerable reduction in the quantity of arms and military equipment. The structure of the armed forces is being transformed in a defensive spirit. The quantity of military districts, armies, and combined arms divisions is being reduced. All documents regulating combat training are being reworked accordingly. The number of large-scale exercises and maneuvers is being reduced. Military production is also being restructured. The planned conversion of a substantial part of this production is being carried out—from 40 percent civilian output in the overall production of the defense complex this year to 60 percent in 1995. In addition a substantial proportion of the military equipment which is being cut back is being refitted and passed on to the national economy.

The USSR defense minister dwelled in detail on topical problems of perestroyka in the Armed Forces. It is developing, he said, under the party's leadership in the mainstream of Soviet society's renewal and is accompanied by the intensification of the processes of democratization and glasnost and the increase of the political and professional activeness of all categories of servicemen. Of course, all the phenomena inherent in today's complex stage of society's development are also reflected one way or another in the Armed Forces. That is natural, after all our army is part of the people. The negative phenomena particularly connected with the actions of nationalist extremist forces, with instances of discrimination among servicemen in some regions of the country, and with attempts to discredit the history and present of the Armed Forces and to undermine their authority and the prestige of military service cannot fail to affect the personnel's mood. The anti-army manifestations in the Baltic and Transcaucasus republics and some regions of Moldavia and the Central Asian republics are of special concern.

Under these conditions special responsibility rests with the officers, who make up the basis, the backbone, of the Soviet Armed Forces. Men with a difficult destiny demanding not only diverse, firm knowledge and skills but also great personal courage, selflessness, and devotion to duty, they are performing work vitally important to the country and necessary to the people. The party and the Soviet state assess this work highly and display concern for improving the material security and increasing the social protection of officers and their families.

The speech paid great attention to the place and role of officers in resolving the practical tasks of perestroyka. Yazov stressed in particular that the success of perestroyka and the attainment of a qualitatively new state for the Armed Forces depend directly on the ideological maturity and professionalism of commanders and political workers and their ability to find new, nonstandard approaches toward the solution of the practical tasks of training and educating the personnel and rallying the multinational military collectives.

Addressing the future officers, Army General D.T. Yazov said that good prospects for serving in the Armed Forces are opened up before them. Their main task is to persistently and tirelessly improve their professional skill, to master the "secrets" of dealing with people, and to establish genuine spiritual affinity with their subordinates. This cannot be achieved without ensuring the inextricable unity of word and deed. Here it is very important to have a deep knowledge of and to consistently implement in daily activity the full range of rights and duties granted to the officer as the leader and educator of the personnel.

An object of the officer's special concern is the assertion of statutory order in the subunit and the constant maintenance of aware military discipline. The path to this lies in the close combination and fusion of a high degree of exactingness toward subordinates with tireless concern for their needs and requests. The officer's strong legal culture is more important than ever today. He must be an active participant in and organizer of elementary legal education in the Armed Forces.

At the present stage of perestroyka in the army and navy every officer is required to adopt an active militant stance on all questions of army life and service. This stance must be geared toward the specific person and closely linked with the practical tasks which are being resolved in the military units where today's cadets will have to serve. They, the hope and bulwark of the Armed Forces, must do a lot to breathe new life into time-tested military rituals and to make more active use of the very rich traditions of the army and navy.

In conclusion the USSR defense minister answered numerous questions.

The meeting took place in a warm, cordial atmosphere.

General Shabanov on Reduced Defense Allocations

LD0311101789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0926 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Nov (TASS)—"The Soviet Union has reduced its allocations for defense by 8.3 percent in 1990, as compared to 1989. This is the first time there has been such a significant reduction in allocations for defense," Army General Vitaliy Shabanov, USSR deputy minister of defense for armaments, said today. In an interview with a TASS correspondent he expressed the conviction that such a reduction has become possible because of the improved international situation and the state's new approach to defense problems.

The decreased expenditure on defense is an important measure which is necessary for improving the health of the economy, Vitaliy Shabanov maintains. However, the security of the state cannot yet be achieved by political means alone. In this connection, the general expressed the belief that the Soviet Union ought to possess such armed forces as would guarantee its defense on the principles of reasonable sufficiency and which would guarantee, along with foreign policy actions, the life and labor of the Soviet people in conditions of peace. "It is, namely, along these lines that restructuring of the Armed Forces in the Soviet Union is taking place," General Vitaliy Shabanov said.

Ground Forces General Views Draft Problems

PM0111133189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Oct 89 First Edition p4

[Interview with Lieutenant General N. Ter-Grigoryants, deputy chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff, by Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "The Fall Draft: Concerns and Anxieties"; date and place of interview unspecified]

[Text] [Burbyga] Norat Grigoryevich, in your view, what are the special features of the current draft?

[Ter-Grigoryants] We have come up against cases that we have not experienced before. I am referring to the reluctance of many (and I stress: I am not talking about isolated cases) young people to fulfill their constitutional duty. This is particularly true of the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics. For example, last spring in Georgia alone 1,500 people failed to present themselves at the draft centers and for dispatch to their units. Some of them even announced a hunger strike as a mark of protest. Unfortunately, the same kind of thing is being seen to happen now. Representatives of various informal associations particularly have stepped up their antidraft activities. The following kind of instance is also well known: On 17 October a group of people in buses turned up at the republic assembly point in Tbilisi with the intention of disrupting the dispatch of young recruits to the army. These days, similar scenes can be observed in the vicinity of assembly points in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

[Burbyga] Yes, cases like these are unprecedented. But, after all, the USSR Constitution does exist and the USSR "Law On General Military Service" is in effect. What kind of reaction to these events has there been by those expected to act as custodians of the law?

[Ter-Grigoryants] I would say that a paradoxical situation has taken shape. The instances I have cited are a secret to no one. The boycotting of the draft is taking place before the eyes of soviet, party, and law-enforcement organs. But all of them are keeping quiet for some reason or pretending that nothing is happening. For example, in Idzhevanskiy Rayon in Armenia, draftees had their way into the military commissariat building blocked and were prevented from reaching the assembly point. But guess what. No one took the appropriate measures. Or take another example: The first draft into the Armed Forces in Azerbaijan was disrupted recently. We are talking about neither more nor less than 1,000 people. But everyone kept quiet, as if the cat had gotten their tongue. On the other hand, those who stand to gain from this were triumphant. They had conquered! But whom? They have dealt a blow to their own army. They have cultivated deserters, one may say. No reaction has been forthcoming from the relevant organs. What is more, there is an example of this. In response to a request for assistance, N. Mgeliashvili, first secretary of Tianetskiy Georgian Communist Party Rayon Committee, said this: "I do as the people do. And the people do not want to serve in the Army."

This kind of attitude of noninterference on the part of soviet, party, and law-enforcement organs means that the military commissariats have been left to deal with all these problems single-handedly. This is fraught with the danger of conflicts between military commissariat personnel and those who do not want to do army service. There are already some dangerous symptoms. An attempt was made on the life of Major General A. Arutyunyan, republic military commissar, in Yerevan not long ago. A frenzied crowd beat him up for more than 20 minutes. It's a wonder he was not killed.

[Burbyga] A number of republics are putting forward various demands for changes in the army service procedure.

[Ter-Grigoryants] Such demands are indeed being made. But you have to take a realistic view of things. Judge for yourself: At present we have a unified, multiethnic armed forces which are manned on the extraterritorial principle. Military units and subunits are stationed in various regions of the country on the basis of their operational designation and the reasonable need to ensure the defense of our state. As far as the proposition about serving exclusively in the territory of your own republic is concerned, it is technically infeasible.

[Burbyga] What can you say about national formations?

[Ter-Grigoryants] In my view this will not lead to anything good. The Armed Forces will be pulled into little pieces. Will two national divisions really signify anything? That is the first point. But I can also see something else here. There is still confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan. At present it is being conducted with the use of stolen weapons. But if we should create national divisions, what would happen then? Another Lebanon?

[Burbyga] Norat Grigoryevich, I have heard that there are also problems with drafting reservists for various training courses.

[Ter-Grigoryants] Yes, there are problems in this area. By law, we can draft people onto training courses only for 3 months, no longer. Every reservist is aware of this. He also knows that gathering the harvest and performing various national economic tasks does not count as part of the training course. Naturally, we do not deliberately call them up to perform national economic tasks under the pretext of sending them on training courses. This is done on the basis of instructions from above. But these documents are not made public. Friction arises between the military commissariats and the reservists and enterprise leaders, who, quoting the law, say that it does not provide for this kind of work. They are right in their own way. There are generally a lot of loose ends. For example, the USSR "Law On the State Enterprise (Association)" and the USSR "Law On the Cooperative System in the USSR" do not provide for enterprises, institutions, and organizations setting up funds to pay the expenses connected with citizens' compliance with the USSR "Law On General Military Service" and thereby come into conflict with it.

I think that in order to instill order it would be a good idea if the USSR Supreme Soviet session were to discuss the question of the draft and active military service in the near future, without further delay. Evidently, conscription into the USSR Armed Forces should be implemented on the basis of a special USSR Supreme Soviet resolution rather than an order from the Defense Ministry.

Allegation of Faulty Submarine Gyrocompass Denied

PM3110152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from V.V. Stepanov, general director of the "Azimut" Science and Production Association, under the rubric: "From International Departments' Mailbag": "The Gyrocompass Was Working"]

[Text] Your newspaper published a letter from V.A. Ogarkova entitled "I Knocked on Doors" (IZVESTIYA No. 224), which leveled serious accusations at the developers of maritime navigation equipment. V.A. Ogarkova's opinions could have been taken as an expression of a personal opinion, to which everyone is entitled, if she had not resorted to conjecture and arbitrary generalizations and sometimes even to untruths. One of the letter's obvious pieces of fact-juggling was pointed out in the editorial comment. But the rest was equally untrustworthy.

It is incorrect that the violation of Swedish territorial waters in 1981 was the result of a faulty navigational compass. It is easy to explain that the cause of the incident had nothing to do with faulty navigational systems. It is also incorrect that "many other precedents" (?) are the result of an "unstable or totally inoperative gyrocompass." In the last 10 years at least, no such incidents have been recorded in the submarine fleet. V.A. Ogarkova's claim that navigational compasses have not been improved in the last 20 years seems ridiculous. Thus, it is impossible to understand how navigation was conducted in any region of the world's oceans and what ensured the effectiveness of our sea-based forces.

The main point is that V.A. Ogarkova's specious accusations are not backed up with any concrete proposals. She has appealed to various bodies for several years now, commissions are operating, the result is always the same.

The collective where V.A. Ogarkova worked previously finds nothing surprising in this. Until September 1987 she was a senior engineer and technologist (chemist) at a science and production association and discredited herself sufficiently until she was dismissed under item 3, Article 33 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Labor Law Code. Her dismissal was preceded by 14 administrative reprimands for violations of labor obligations, a public reprimand from a labor collective meeting, and demotion. V.A. Ogarkova appealed to the people's court on five occasions (the rayon and city court on three and two occasions respectively) to sue the association (for her demotion, dismissal, and payment of monetary compensation) and each time the court refused to satisfy her pleas. A decision of the Leningrad City Court Civil Cases Collegium of 6 June 1986 noted that "V.A. Ogarkova made unscrupulous use of her legal procedural rights."

[Signed] V.V. Stepanov, general director of "Azimut" Science and Production Association, Leningrad.